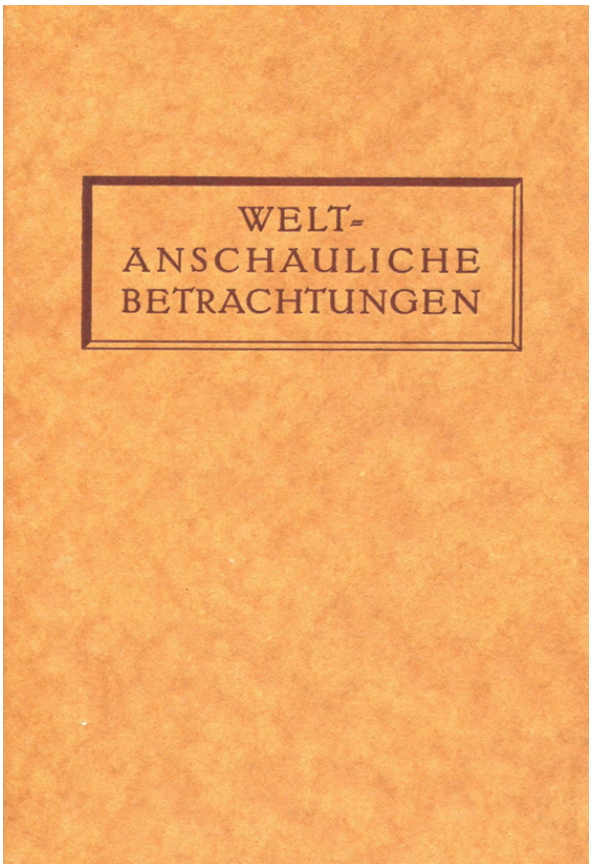
Reflections on Worldview:
As Published in *Das Schwarze Korps*



by Heinar Schilling

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Forward

This book is a complete reprint of twenty essays that appeared in the *Das Schwarze Korps* in 1936 - the author is deeply indebted to the chief editor of the NSDAP's Schutzstaffel newspaper, SS-Standartenführer Pg. Gunter d'Alquen, as well as to his deputy, SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf aus den Ruthen, not only for the essential inspiration for these works, but also for the fact that they undertook the arduous task of reviewing the manuscripts and adapting them for their specific purpose.

The purpose of these essays was to deepen understanding of National Socialist ideology and to clarify its standpoints, not so much that of the author's as that of the comradeship behind the newspaper's ideological work - for this reason, all of the essays were originally published anonymously, and the author would like to take this opportunity to emphasize that the views expressed in these essays are not to be regarded as his intellectual property, but rather, the decisive inspiration for one or the other articulation of the position taken stems precisely from that comradely collaboration which presented these essays as the expression of opinions originating from a like-minded community.
In this respect, these works are by no means intended to be regarded as a comprehensive ideological overview or even as a guiding principle, nor do they claim to be objective - rather, they can be viewed merely as a highly subjective and modest contribution to the logical further development and refinement of National Socialist thought, for it was for this very purpose that the author wrote them and *Das Schwarze Korps* published them.
This book edition follows the text formatting carried out by the editorial board of *Das Schwarze Korps*, with the exception of a few omissions of passages referring to current events; only in the case of the last essay have two unpublished supplementary essays been appended to the published version to aid understanding.

May this little book serve as a useful guide for all those who wish to inform themselves about the ideological problems of the present.

- Klotzsche, March 1st, 1938
Heinar Schilling

The Führerprinzip

I.

Many of our compatriots, whether qualified or not, speak thoughtlessly of the “great upheaval” in the consciousness of the German people—of the “new spirit” that animates our new state—without giving any thought to what these terms actually mean in reality.
A lack of intellectual clarity—which is particularly disastrous because it often leads to unbearable empty rhetoric—prevails in the speech and writing of those who have been brought into line, and so it is high time that vague catchphrases were finally replaced by clearly and convincingly formulated concepts.

In today’s political life, it is not a matter—as it was in the days of parliamentarianism—of winning votes with fine words, for that serves neither us nor the new Reich; rather, the party—which, in times of struggle, has coalesced into an organic whole through the discipline of the will and the sacred conviction inherent in its members—must now, for its part, become the nucleus for the ideological conversion of the entire people.
This, however, can never, ever be achieved through empty phrases and slogans, but can only be achieved solely through the persuasive power of new ideas—such as those found, for example, in every speech by the Führer—and for this reason alone, their clear formulation and sufficient intellectual underpinning are among the most noble tasks of those men primarily engaged in spreading the National Socialist ideology.
The cornerstone of the new state is the concept of the Führerprinzip - its introduction into political and public life was a deliberate departure from the ways of thinking and living of the previous century, signifying a rejection of the methods of parliamentarism and collectivism, which were recognized as equally dangerous to the body of the people.
If we wish to grasp the full significance of this idea—which underpins the entire organizational life of the new state—we must first seek to understand it as a turning away from and a reversal of the wrong path, that is, in negative terms.

Parliamentarism was based on the most disastrous and foolish error in history: the idea of the equality and equal worth of all individuals before the law.
When the French Revolution of 1789 abolished the privileges of the nobility and the clergy, its primary aim was to eliminate the right to rule—which had degenerated into unbridled abuse—of the first two estates of the former West Frankish Kingdom, which at that time were still almost purely Nordic: these estates had maintained their rule solely through strict caste-like isolation from the racially distinct lower classes, and so it was no wonder at the time that the revolutionary idea—which was championed primarily by non-Nordic individuals—made use of a concept designed to completely destroy the hated upper class, a concept that was bound to find tremendous resonance precisely among the less valued segments of the French people.
The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed, stipulating that neither birth nor education, neither character nor race, should make any difference in the civic evaluation of the individual - this effectively destroyed the supremacy of the two estates—destined by bloodline and millennia of tradition to lead the French state.
The nobility—and with it the peasantry (which, in terms of social class, has always and in every respect been indistinguishable from the nobility; indeed, the genuine, down-to-earth nobility is nothing more than

the class—itself down-to-earth—called upon by natural selection to lead the peasantry)—was systematically decimated during the years of terror that followed under the Paris Commune, and surely never has the leadership blood of a people been so ruthlessly destroyed by inferior races as during the reign of the guillotine.

As “pagan” as the rule of the Jacobins may have appeared, the fundamental idea they proclaimed as a rallying cry was, at its core, of Christian origin, for when the Church, with the same ultimate goal, rose up against the ruling class of the Roman Empire, it presented itself as the religion of the oppressed and the weak and, in order to enforce its slave morality, first introduced into the world the idea of the equality of individuals before God.
Logically, such a conceptual foundation could only ever mean the devaluation of a people’s strong, racially sound, and—by virtue of national merit—privileged classes in comparison to the nameless mass of the populace, which was represented by the personally unfree lower classes, most of whom had emerged from slaves of other races - in the Roman Empire, this contrast was particularly stark, and thus the destruction of the Nordic ruling class brought about the immediate collapse of the empire.
In France, too, the struggle against the ruling class took on a distinctly racial character, for the elimination of the nobility—which, as the sole heir to the Frankish founders of the empire, was the bearer of Germanic blood—brought the Romance (i.e., Western-oriented) and, in particular, the Celtic segments of the population back to power after a thousand years of servitude: France thus ceased to be a Nordic-led state.

It was no wonder that these ideas also spread to Germany, even though the ethnic conditions there were quite different.
One hundred and fifty years ago, Germany possessed a population that was still racially intact: not only the nobility and the peasantry, but above all the leading strata of the bourgeoisie and a broad class of artisans were, in almost all parts of the empire, pure or at least predominantly Germanic.
Given these circumstances, the conditions for a racial struggle like the one in France were absent - instead, however, another segment of the population of foreign descent played an important role in Germany at that time: the Jews, who, though confined to ghettos, had nevertheless monopolized small-scale retail trade.
The Jews knew how to apply to themselves the slogans that had been raised in France under entirely different circumstances, in order to portray themselves as an oppressed people - thus, in the period that followed, by skillfully exploiting existing social injustices, they succeeded in inciting certain segments of the petty bourgeoisie and the working class against the ruling class of the time—a class that was, however, partly to blame for the developments that ensued, because it believed it could dismiss some of the just demands—both material and ideological—with an arrogant gesture.
Judaism exploited this weakness with extraordinary skill to drive the ideological wedge ever deeper into the German people - thus, Jewish liberalism, which raised the slogan of universal and equal democracy, succeeded in dismantling the estates-based structure of the people—which had developed over centuries—and in replacing the previous natural form of leadership within the individual ethnic groups with the poorly functioning, soulless mechanism of vote counting.

Universal suffrage, which assigned equal weight to the vote of a senile old man and that of a man trained and educated over generations to be responsible, drew upon the political institutions of the time of the

Greek republics (around 400 B.C.), without, however, taking into account that the city-state constitutions of that time, with their equal rights for citizens, referred solely to the free Hellenes, who made up less than ten percent of the freedmen and slaves under their rule - thus, lines of thought originating from an aristocratic oligarchy were applied to populations numbering in the millions, for whom they made no sense at all.
In place of a ruling class appointed through the natural selection of the state, the stubborn rule of numbers now took hold: this not only opened the floodgates to corruption but, as a result of the far-reaching impact of cheap slogans, very quickly destroyed the last remnants of the healthy, estates-based structure of the German people.
"Wisdom has always resided with the few"—this fundamental principle of statecraft was replaced by unscrupulous demagoguery, which soon led to vote-grabbing and the emergence of parliamentary parties; it was not the supposed interests of the "voting cattle" that arose in this context, but rather the private ambition of the party bosses that determined Germany's fate for half a century.

When Adolf Hitler's Reich cleared away all this chaos, it did so primarily out of the realization that a reorganization of Germany's political conditions—deeply rooted in the national character—must first and foremost eliminate liberalism, a foreign concept introduced into Germany solely as a Jewish weapon, before one could set about ensuring the recovery of the national body.
After the party leadership had ascertained that the overwhelming majority of the people approved of this reorganization, the absurdity of the vote count was eliminated through the introduction of an authoritarian form of government, thereby restoring the Führerprinzip in a completely new form appropriate to today's political conditions: the form of government to which Germany owes its glory and greatness throughout its history spanning thousands of years—and above all, the healthy survival of its national body—was thus restored after a relatively brief interruption.
However, it must be emphasized with the utmost clarity that today's Führerprinzip has nothing to do with a restoration of outdated privileges or, even less so, of a privileged class - a deep understanding of the true realities of our national structure prevented us from taking, for example, the already rotten final stage of historical development in the 18th century as the starting point for the new order; rather, one consciously drew upon the very roots of state-forming forces by calling upon all those strata of the German people, whose blood was racially intact, to assume leadership, thereby ensuring the rebirth of the leadership class that would guarantee a healthy future governance.
Following this historical review of the prerequisites for the present-day rule of the Führerprinzip, we will examine its constitutional functions in the present and future in a subsequent chapter.

II.

In our first chapter, we established that the reintroduction of the Führerprinzip was, in essence, nothing more than the elimination of the alien and sub-racial view that it is not a person's worth that determines their share in the governance of the state, but rather the obscure mechanism of numbers.
It was not the quality of the leader and the led that was supposed to be decisive, but the quantity of the irresponsible masses - in this respect, the restoration of the rule of sound and down-to-earth blood initially meant nothing more than a return to the true roots of the historical realities of our national character.

In fact, the overwhelming majority of the German people understood and approved of this urgently necessary measure in precisely the sense just indicated, especially since, in its outward form, it closely followed an idea deeply rooted in our national consciousness—namely, that of military discipline.

The unconditional duty of obedience, which made the Prussian-German army great, did not simply fall from the sky, but was built up and developed through the painstaking labor of generations - let us not forget that it was the Swedish army, with which we share ancestral ties, from which the great Elector adopted the principles of subordination and a sense of responsibility.
This highest manifestation of manhood and service to the people had grown out of Germanic soil, and recognizing this is all the more significant for us because the original Germanic spirit, with its exaggerated emphasis on the rights of the individual, had been alien to any subordination to a collective ideal.
The Great Elector and his successors on the Prussian throne now demonstrated sound judgment by ensuring that, in the formation of the standing army—which was initially, admittedly, a mercenary force—officer positions were awarded exclusively to carefully selected, capable members of the native nobility, who were thus assigned a new and immensely important sphere of activity: as a result, the armed forces—which were soon to become the most important factor in the state—grew, so to speak, into the body of the people as a whole.
When, during the Wars of Liberation, the mercenary army was transformed into a national army, the officer corps, as the designated representative of the previous political leadership, automatically rose to the foremost position in the state: it was no longer the privilege of birth that called one to this mission, but rather the idea of discipline based on unconditional loyalty to the state.
When the new Reich adopted the well-balanced system of Prussian-German discipline for the reconstruction of the state administration and all of public life, it was thus standing on the foundation of a development that had become historic and was intrinsically rooted in our worldview.

The fundamental principle of subordination is a sense of responsibility, culminating in the view that the leader alone, at his own discretion, must make all decisions, and that none of the subordinates has the right to oppose the orders of a superior: just as the supreme commander in war has full discretion over the lives of his soldiers, and is thus responsible for ensuring that success justifies the sacrifice, so too is the absolute leader of a people completely free in his decisions and requires no advisory body, since he is accountable to the people for all his actions.
However, it would be a mistake to conclude that this—to use military terminology—relieves staff officers or, for that matter, even subordinate officers of their responsibility, for it was precisely this willingness to accept responsibility that constituted the true value of the Prussian officer.
Precisely because each officer is endowed with absolute authority within his sphere of responsibility, he bears full responsibility for every single violation of discipline within that sphere; he is thus accountable, as it were, not only for himself but for all those under his command, and this is what constitutes the moral value of the leadership principle.

Just as in the Prussian-German military, the leadership structure of the new Reich will root out, without exception and with iron discipline, anything that fails to meet the moral requirements of such a responsible authority.

It is well known that, in accordance with the Führer's will, any misconduct on the part of men in leadership positions is punished with double the severity - all those irresponsible contemporaries who, out of grumbling or a thirst for gossip, frequently spread rumors about alleged, intractable abuses should keep this fact constantly in mind.

The flawless functioning of an organization as extensive as that of the National Socialist state cannot, of course, be achieved overnight, but soon—since we are building upon a well-established tradition—this lofty goal will be attained; then every single official will be aware that his superior's ability to tackle new and major tasks depends not only on the official's autonomy within his own district and his willingness to take responsibility, but also on his ability to take on new and major tasks - only then, on the foundation of this state structure that is true to our nature, it will not be blind obedience that prevails, but rather the free development of creative forces in the service of the whole.

Leadership, Not Caste Spirit

Just as the concept of race forms our ideological foundation, so too does the idea of the unity of state and party form the political foundation of the new Reich.

It must be borne in mind that the term and title of "party" originated during the struggle to unite all those who were willing to help build a better future against those who were the most bitter enemies of the new world of ideas - one must therefore bear in mind that the functions of the organization that is now called upon to lead the state are, due to this historical fact, greater and broader than the old concept of "party," since it now has responsibility for the welfare and woes of the entire nation, beyond the circle of former times.
Opponents of our worldview have repeatedly accused National Socialism of appointing a minority, namely the party, to lead the state - however, the transformation of the entire state in the new spirit, along with the permeation and fruitful reorganization of the state apparatus with new ideas, was only possible because a following that was firmly united in the hands of the Führer, inspired by a common will and thoroughly disciplined, took over the leadership, allowing them to shape the spiritual and ideological guidance of the people: nothing proved more clearly that National Socialism was on the right path in taking this historical necessity into account than the overwhelming unanimity of the entire people, who stood united behind the Führer and thus also behind his party in the vote.
Nothing, however, would be more misguided than to try to derive personal privileges for individual party members from this historical development, since membership in the NSDAP entails duties, not undeserved rights.

According to the will of the Führer, the party is the bearer of the German concept of the state and the political will of the nation, and is therefore inextricably linked to the state - a Reichsleiter and Reich Minister, a man who unites both party and state within himself, has characterized the significance of this fact, which is so extraordinarily important in world history, with the following words:

"The NSDAP is the Führer's order of the nation, and according to the Führer's will, its members should be a selection of the most capable, determined, and courageous members of the people.
The next generation of leaders of the NSDAP does not mean the establishment of a new privileged caste, but rather the assumption of enormous responsibility and increased duties toward the Führer, the people, and the state; it would therefore be a complete misjudgment of the Führer's intentions if party members, insisting on their external position in the party, wanted to claim privileges over other members of the people to which they have no internal entitlement.
External authority can only be maintained in the long term if it corresponds to an internal value and is internally convincing - the best proof of this is the person of the Führer himself."

This clearly and unambiguously outlines not only the current situation, but above all the development for the future, for due to the membership freeze imposed immediately after the seizure of power, the party comprises as its valuable and actual foundation those who, during the actual period of struggle, subordinated themselves unconditionally to the Führer out of the most sacred conviction and fought with him for a new Germany—that is, those whose loyalty to their convictions and willingness to follow were tested and proven often enough during those hard years.

Furthermore, every year a large number of young people who have successfully completed the preliminary stages of ideological training have joined these old fighters, and therefore appear suitable to serve the new state as capable helpers in its construction.

Because entry into the multi-level party organization is open to every young German, this new generation of the leadership class will be natural leaders: these young people are not appointed or selected on the basis of any inherited class advantages or other social considerations, but rather, they grow into the organization on the basis of their proven and tested innate leadership qualities.
Through the nature of the organization, the new state ensures that it always has only truly useful leadership qualities available for the next generation, and in this way, over a longer period of time, the party becomes a consolidation of all the truly creative and leadership forces of the nation.
This phenomenon, which is a blessing of fate to witness, can hardly be overlooked today in its enormous significance for world history, for it not only eliminates forever and ever all differences of status and, in particular, the class antagonisms of the past, but also creates that tremendous internal unity of the nation which, based on the idea of unified leadership, already today makes the entire body of the people the instrument of a single will.

Just as loyalty, which is our honor, subordinates us all to the person and work of the Führer, and thus to the good of the whole, so too will the spiritual and ideological unity that the next generation of leaders is to bring about in all areas of life one day help the German people achieve that great unity which is the sublime goal of National Socialism - peace.

The Men of Tomorrow

National Socialism is not a recipe, nor a pair of glasses that one simply puts on to see the whole world "brought into line."
Time and again, we who lived through the years of struggle and were able to feel the complete upheaval in thought and, above all, in experience—in all its power to reevaluate every value—witness the peculiar uncertainty of all those who were not granted this experience: the inner weariness of those "brought into line," who cling to the past with a thousand threads, is a serious stumbling block on the path to the future.
One might say that the men of the day before yesterday no longer matter at all, because—whether out of resignation or inner resistance—they are not participating in the building of the new state anyway - however, we realize that our political worldview cannot simply exclude an entire large group of our fellow Germans, for they, too, are fathers of the young generation upon whom alone the future of our people rests; they, too, must therefore understand what our most sacred struggle is about and the path we must all follow if we are to succeed in securing the nation's existence.

Time and again, we have emphatically stressed that while ideological commitment must, of course, be a prerequisite for anyone involved in the construction and leadership of the new state, this alone is not enough: this applies all the more to the young people coming of age, who are spared the challenges and hardships of wartime and who, free from external and internal conflicts, are growing into the role that corresponds to their historical mission - it does them no good to point to smoothly completed careers in the training organizations—that is, in the Hitler Youth (HJ), the Stormtroopers (SA), or the SS—for all these preliminary stages of future political achievement will in the future be mere civic organizational forms that support the leadership of the nation, but will no longer be, as in the years of struggle, human communities built on a commitment to action.
It may gnaw at some old fighters that the era of revolutionary fighting spirit is finally over, but the course of history is inevitable: the party called to lead ceases to be a mere fighting force the moment it is entrusted with responsibility for the entire people, for from then on, it serves the entire nation and therefore has no more enemies.
Consequently, when it comes to selecting the next generation of leaders, the first criterion must always be performance: one cannot be trained to be a leader, for leadership is always innate, but the ability to play a decisive role within the complex machinery of a modern state depends first and foremost on a considerable degree of practical knowledge.

It is not ideological indoctrination—however necessary it may be—that forms the basis of tomorrow's leadership, but rather the quality of skill and knowledge: the men who gradually rise to leadership positions in the state, the party, and economic life must master their field down to the smallest detail, otherwise they will do the new state more harm than good.
However, the prerequisite for this transformation of the entire educational system is a complete reorientation of educational goals: we know that it is completely futile to cram a young person full of dead knowledge, and that the pseudo-erudition of yesterday—and, unfortunately, still prevalent today—which assumed that a mind stuffed to bursting with technical jargon could be of any use whatsoever in the work of the state, must disappear entirely.
Science, even in order to achieve anything in its own specific field, must never be detached from life, for otherwise it creates only social divisions and class-based arrogance; even in its specialized functions, it

must remain close to the people and oriented toward life, and therefore, since universities are primarily responsible for training the next generation of leaders in almost all professional fields, we demand a decisive departure from the dangerous specialization of all individual disciplines, which has not only deprived science itself of any overview of culture as a whole, but has also robbed students and the people as a whole of any confidence in the validity of its findings: the young people of tomorrow should not only master their specific field of study, but also be educated in the truest and noblest sense, possessing a genuine, self-acquired, and firsthand understanding of their people's culture.

There is yet another factor that weighs heavily in the balance - it would be entirely misguided and pointless to grant young men who have graduated with distinction from various training programs leadership positions simply on the basis of that fact, for this would alienate them from the most important life force: proving themselves in the struggle for existence.
Every achievement must be a constant struggle and a test of one's ability to assert oneself, and where this necessary integration into the struggle for existence is lacking, the result will be a bureaucracy incapable of coping with life, rather than a truly proactive leadership class: this applies first and foremost to the so-called academic professions, where placing greater and greater emphasis on genuine achievement is one of the most important tasks of the new state.
The natural selection inherent in existence, as it exists in intellectual and creative professions, must also be sought in those occupational groups that, within the system state, tended toward an ever-increasing bureaucratization—above all among teachers and civil servants.

In this regard, it is of decisive importance that the new state be built not on a men's club, but on the clan - we do not wish to repeat the errors of the Teutonic Order, which was brought to ruin by flawed social organizations.
When we select the best people in our training courses, our goal is not to set them apart from the national community on the basis of class, in order to place them above the "rest of the people" in some organizational form as a kind of superior human being; on the contrary, every single one of these "men of tomorrow" must be aware that he must first fulfill his duties toward the national community and the clan before he can even be considered for a leadership position - for this reason, we require early marriage specifically of the best and brightest, as this appears to be the most suitable way to integrate the individual into the whole.

Thus, as we hope, the leadership of tomorrow will be founded on the sound basis not only of the best skills and knowledge, but also of the best blood, for our foremost concern is selection based on racial criteria and, thereby, the best possible promotion of the most valuable hereditary traits - in this way, our faith in the future of the new state is well-founded not only ideologically, but also practically, and we may hope that the recovery of Germany will succeed in the strong hands to which we entrust this great work.

More Moral Courage

“A good man thinks of himself last!” - that is a time-honored proverb—and therefore by no means outdated—but it is also a truism, and it would be wrong to try to gauge a person’s goodness based on how much or how little they concern themselves with their own responsibilities.

We must never forget that the national community is a sum of individual personalities who, while striving toward a common goal in happy unity, derive their external and internal values first and foremost from each individual’s ability to achieve something complete in their own role.
Everyone has, in accordance with their abilities and strengths, a sphere of activity—both in their profession and in their private life—for which they alone are responsible, while the state ensures that the effects of all these small and minute spheres of life do not overlap in a harmful way: with that, its task in this regard is already fulfilled.
Precisely because the state is nothing other than the political form of organization supported by the free will of its citizens and corresponding to today’s historical realities, it can never be in its interest—least of all in times of authoritarian leadership—to intervene in the realm of purely personal initiative, as long as the interests of the whole do not require it.

Life develops organically according to eternal laws—laws rooted in blood and soil, which derive their immutable maxims from conditions ordained by nature: from race and national character, from the distinctive characteristics bound to landscape and clan.
All these norms, because they have arisen naturally and are nature itself, are, to a certain degree, removed from the spiritual realm and from the influence of the spirit - it was the fundamental act of the new Reich to pave the way for this realization by building its form of state organization—in contrast to the preceding epoch—upon these time-honored foundations of the collective will.
In the era of parliamentarism, ideological constructs had formed the basis of the constitution and state organization—constructs that, detached from the natural body of the people, hovered in the sphere of the intellect, which is driven by ever-changing contemporary tastes.
The new state, on the other hand, was built on natural foundations: its basis is the people united in their tribes, not as a multitude of individuals with unrestricted rights, but as a natural unity of all the life forces at work within it, that is, the clans from which it sprang, and through whose flourishing it endures.

We must bear this in mind to understand the fundamental difference between the rights of the individual today and in the past.
The era of unbridled egoism is over—the era in which anyone could, invoking a vague “freedom of the individual,” demand space for special interests that were harmful to the people; in its place has come the responsible action of each individual in the interest of the whole, which constitutes the essence of true loyalty.
A national community is not a flock of sheep that blindly follows the shepherd, tended by a dog; instead, every single person must assist the leader, and the life of the nation rests on the active will of all citizens.
There is no longer any “voting cattle,” no disenfranchised “proletariat,” precisely because all fellow citizens, with equal rights, are working together to build our state: this is not an empty phrase, as the enemies of our worldview repeatedly accuse us of using, but rather, it is the most important principle of our political life.

Just as the old Prussian discipline demanded “a willingness to take responsibility” as the noblest virtue of an officer, we demand of everyone that, in his own district—and only there—he remain true to himself, committing his entire being and, if necessary, his very existence, and stand up for himself and his loved ones as a man of integrity.

More moral courage—that means: always standing tall and preventing harm at all costs, wherever it may arise.
Of course, such manly deeds are not for servile souls, nor for those who must kowtow always and everywhere, those whose knees tremble at the sight of a superior: there are no cowards in our ranks, and that is why we believe we may hope that this appeal to a sense of responsibility will strike a chord with those who want Germany—even in its smallest unit—to become, as quickly as possible, what the Führer wants it to be: manly, decent, and clean.

The “Good” National Socialist

Mrs. Müller left the washhouse in a mess after using it: people are already saying that’s antisocial.
Mr. Lehmann has a gramophone that’s very loud, and as if that weren’t enough, he also plays “that disgusting nigger music” (which, as is well known, is what many non-dancers mean by all modern dance music) - “And he wants to be a National Socialist!”
Whatever bothers the philistine—and whatever he has been unable to do anything about until now—the state authority is now supposed to remove from his path: one would prefer to report every single case to Munich right away.

Certainly, National Socialism claims to encompass all areas of life, and that is precisely what is meant by the totality of a worldview - however, that is by no means to say that one should now go snooping around after one’s fellow man to see whether he conforms, in every minute detail, to the uniform, average image that Mr. Lehmann or Mr. Schulze have conjured up of a “good” National Socialist (though it is not even clear yet whether that image is accurate).
Of course, it is not enough for cell leader Meier to collect dues particularly punctually and fulfill his other duties with the utmost care, for he must truly be a National Socialist—and that entails a great deal.
First and foremost, it means that, aside from his ideology, he is a man of integrity who knows that he is a part of the whole; it means that he feels responsible for every aspect of his life; it that he helps build the Reich of the future within his family and in his home life, and above all—and this is the most important thing—it means that he is decent, “decent” in that lofty sense that commands respect.
That is why nothing is more repulsive than when party members try to profit from their affiliation with the movement: time and again, the party press must expose such cases, which prove that some people—who, of course, mean well and are “completely harmless”—directly seek, through advertising or other business transactions, to exploit the party in some way to make money.
No better are those others who claim to be good National Socialists, but are scoundrels in their private or business lives: only he who is honorable in every respect is truly a National Socialist.

Such a fundamental assessment of public and private morality, however, must not become a pretext for nitpicking and grumbling: it makes no sense to lump everything together, and just as people themselves are different, so too are the standards.
This is not to say, by any means, that we now grant everyone the right to live as they please, for there are boundaries that must not be crossed; however, within these boundaries, the extent of the individual’s character alone determines what is appropriate for them.
If Mr. Schulze is a frugal man who shuns the pleasures of life, he still has no right to declare Mr. Meier, who occasionally drinks more than his fill, to be “morally inferior”, for if a man has a keen sense of what he can account for before himself, then he will also know what he may ask of himself, and what he ought to do and refrain from doing.
After all, the vital forces vary from person to person, and these forces atrophy when left unused - thus, full-blooded individuals will require a great many highly astonishing displays of strength as a form of self-affirmation—displays that may seem uncomfortable to the weaker ones: one need only think of a man like Bismarck, who, as is well known, would sometimes take a rather substantial drink even in the morning.

We do not want standardization and uniformity in private life, for the diversity of life is inexhaustible: the strong must be different from the weak, the farmer different from the city dweller, the young different from the old.
We do not want simplification, least of all with regard to an individual's way of life: the joy of beautiful things and soldierly simplicity are by no means ideological opposites.
There is no instruction manual for "National Socialism" as we understand it: whoever devotes all his strength to his life's work and his family—the nucleus of the state—also serves the people.

Attitude or Service

We are building a new state, and thus, the future we serve demands that we all devote all our strength, all our will, and all our ability to this cause: this means that we—a united front of like-minded comrades—have neither the time nor the inclination to allow ourselves to be distracted from our common work by trivial matters that fragment our time and our strength.
We assume in good faith that everyone who walks with us is of pure intent—that, because he marches in our ranks, he is a decent fellow who can be trusted: this has always been the case throughout history whenever a community of like-minded men fought for a political goal, and it has always—and continues to—also continued to be the cause of painful mistakes.

The movement grew out of a small, close-knit circle, and the old fighters knew each other well; their daily commitment fostered a deep, human trust that helped them overcome even disappointments, but from the moment it became worthwhile to stand on the front lines of National Socialism, a certain type of person entered our circle—people who saw the party as something entirely different from what we did, namely, a means to an end.
This is not meant pejoratively: we do not mean the opportunists who sought to exploit the situation for selfish reasons, for these were identified and eliminated sooner or later; rather, we are referring to the good and honest fellows who crowded into our ranks simply to be part of it.
But goodness and honesty is not enough, for responsibility requires self-knowledge: loyalty, camaraderie, reliability—these are all fine and necessary qualities of a good Party member, but they alone are not enough to build a new world; after all, it takes a little more than just “attitude.”
This is not to say, however, that attitude is solely and exclusively a matter of character, for the word itself already indicates that it is about the “mind”—about insight, understanding, and intellectual responsibility.

As the movement spread throughout Germany, the structure of its organizations gradually encompassed all spheres of life, and it was inevitable that this rapid expansion of the party organs’ sphere of influence would place some people in positions for which they were not equipped: it will be a long time before all offices and positions of honor in the state are filled with men who equally meet the highest standards of performance and conviction, and until then, it is essential that every individual who, by virtue of his convictions, holds any position, examine himself daily to determine whether he is up to the responsibility entrusted to him.
This goes without saying, but it must be stated once and for all so that that other type of party comrade—of whom we shall speak shortly—understands quite clearly what it means to assume responsibility.

There are, unfortunately, also comrades who imagine that what matters first and foremost is the gold border on the party badge and an impeccable and proven commitment to the cause - no, that is fundamentally wrong.
A veteran fighter is not, simply because he has thought and lived as a National Socialist for years, entitled to demand a “position of honor” in the new state: the only thing he may demand is work, while positions belong to those who are qualified for them; of course, the right attitude is to be taken for granted.
It may be painful for some old, staunch fighters to watch as, little by little, very young men in the movement rise to leadership positions that, in their view, they themselves would be much better suited to

fill - in doing so however, they forget that the younger generation has a much greater right to living space than the older generation, which in most cases is still somehow rooted in the era of the old system and its ideological tenets.

If they possessed sufficient self-awareness, they would acknowledge with admiration how much more unified, straightforward, and cohesive the worldview of the young National Socialists is—those who have had the good fortune to experience the great struggle during their youth, the years most crucial for character formation.

The movement's triumphant march has steeled their hearts at an age when one is particularly receptive to external influences - of course, due to the age-old generational divide, they will not perceive the intellectual world of the postwar era entirely correctly, but that is not all that important now, after the actual phase of struggle has ended, in the construction of the new Reich.

What carries far greater weight is that, unlike the older generation, they do not carry the heavy burden of the past with them, but rather had all their energies freely available from the very beginning to realize the goal—a goal that the older generation has shown them, for which they owe an unforgettable debt of gratitude.

The Inflation of Terms

"On Saturday afternoon, there was a rush on tangible assets: all shops were overcrowded, and in some places the sales assistants could hardly cope with the rush of customers.
The department stores announced that they would not raise their prices despite the devaluation... This was obviously a demonstration by right-wing circles against the government's devaluation measures, and the police had no reason to intervene..."

This did not happen in Germany, but in Paris.
We Germans know that, on the day similar events take place here, the whole terrible process of inflation could repeat itself with cruel consistency: within a few days, profiteers and black marketeers would once again seize control of all essential goods, and all the welfare measures of the state, even the most cruel corporal punishment, would not be able to stop the decline of the people and the state, its inevitable corruption, and ultimately the destruction of a laborious reconstruction effort - this cannot, must not, and will not happen.
We know that the security of our currency is also a foundation for the future of our people, not only for the twilight years of all those who are now working, but above all the health and existence of our children who depend on our currency remaining stable: the terrible misery of currency collapse, which has cost the lives of thousands upon thousands of Germans, and which has plunged tens of thousands into the most undignified hardship and miserable poverty, must not and will not be repeated!

This stability is guaranteed by the unequivocal and clear proclamations of the leading men of the National Socialist state.
The will of the Führer and the energy of his colleagues have thus protected us from this danger, but there is another kind of inflation that is no less serious and no less dangerous than the devaluation of money and the destruction of economic security, which, like the latter, can undermine the state and ultimately threaten the entire people and their existence: the inflation of words and concepts, of ideas, and even of worldviews.
Every day, we all see how a certain type of contemporary pushes themselves into the public eye to emphasize as loudly as possible that, as the only true National Socialists, they cannot under any circumstances stand by and watch how anti-social and un-National Socialist this or that harmless petty bourgeois behaves: these are people whose faces we are seeing for the first time, and who, during the years of struggle, either hid away or even stood in those well-known "friendly camps" that at the time put obstacles in the way of the new state wherever possible.
These contemporaries are now opening their mouths to shout out, with the loudest voices and with a tone of conviction, the words that were our party's battle cry during the struggle, but which are now in danger of becoming worn out, devaluing not only their true meaning and ideological content, but also dragging them through shameless abuse, shouted by those unworthy of even uttering these cries - these phrase-mongers do not even stop at the most sacred concepts.

No German word is abused as much today as the adjective that describes our party; the same is true of all the expressions that are dear to us, which the Führer and his helpers created during the struggle as a mark of positive civic sentiment.

“Gewaltig” (mighty), “National Socialist” and “German nature” – no, soon no one will be satisfied with anything less: it is a great inflation, a mass surge, a dilution.
To water down something is when someone has a very good wine, but then adds ten times the amount of water: he may have a large quantity, a huge quantity, which can hardly fit in the barrels, but the stuff doesn't taste good - it tastes so... yes, it tastes a bit thin, doesn't it? In any case, it no longer tastes like wine!
Jesus Christ was certainly pious, but his prayers were short; later, the prayers were lengthened, piety became more and more complicated, heretics were burned, and, in the end, even the best religion no longer smelled fresh - there had simply become too much religion, and the people had had enough.
This multi-faceted religion, since it was trumped, had to serve all kinds of purposes: in particular, it had to serve as a cover under which private interests could be most conveniently promoted, where it felt very warm and protected.
Today we have the young worldview of National Socialism, and thus also face the same dangers that every worldview encounters: the truly pious brought it into the world, its followers spread it far and wide, but since they are not always believers alone, but also children of this world, time and again and still, they use the faith for different means…

There is the sedate old fox of a factory manager - not a bad man at all, just a human being, but not a believer, and he constantly seeks his own advantage; he also thinks (and probably believes) that his own advantage is to the advantage of everyone else as well.
Dutifully and loyally, he goes about his little business dealings, “saving” a little now and then, but when a heavy drop falls on his nose from above because of it, then he has, then he is, well...
“Well, I did that purely in the interests of the welfare of the followers entrusted to me,” he says. “The German economy,” he says. “Germany should move forward,” he says. “Heil Hitler,” he says.
We have always made it our mission to denounce such dangerous abuses: one need only recall the nonsense that has been perpetrated over the last three years with words like “Nordic” and “Aryan,” from “Nordic” wallpaper patterns to “Aryan” grandmother's chairs - how the term ‘worldview’ has been dragged through the mud, by declaring that everything and anything was “incompatible with it.”
But that's not all! This highly damaging and, for the state, unacceptable devaluation of words goes hand in hand with a slow destruction of concepts, for even the most sincere, trusting, and loyal party member cannot bear it in the long run when unworthy individuals, through a horrendous combination of economic opportunism and business acumen of the worst kind, degrade the very words that are sacred to him to mere empty rhetoric.
It has already reached the point where, wherever it may be, people prick up their ears suspiciously when words such as “the National Socialist faith” or “Nordic character” are uttered somewhere: one senses something foul when “the ideology of blood and soil” is spoken of in an overly bombastic manner, and one is dismayed to hear valuable ideas being regurgitated by the unqualified, their teeth bared in an enclosure.
One basically fears the empty rhetoric—what a dangerous and grotesque reversal of reality!

It started with individual words, individual terms, and continues with entire, ready-made stolen complexes of ideas - true rat kings of the most alien provenance!

Unfortunately, this applies—and let me say this emphatically—first and foremost to certain newspaper people who are doing truly monstrous things in this area, and who are doing everything they can to make the work of us National Socialist newspapermen difficult and hard.
People who have mostly never seriously grappled with the reality of National Socialism, who are incapable of thinking in terms of our worldview, take refuge in the world of the most hollow and meaningless phrases because they think they can hide their ignorance behind them - that is really the only possible explanation.
What is even worse is that it is not only those followers from the former "nationalist," i.e., German nationalist or conservative camps who are ruining the movement's vocabulary, so to speak, but there are also a large number of other contemporaries who imagine that it is quite sufficient to diligently use the established vocabulary of the movement from the struggle period: these people believe that they can acquire the entire range of ideas of National Socialism by eagerly and diligently memorizing its fundamental writings, thus relieving themselves of any further intellectual activity for the rest of their lives - these second-handers refuse to see that National Socialism is, so to speak, a living entity that must grow if it is to endure.

The entire realm of today's National Socialist ideology—that is, our views of the people and the state, but also the idea itself and its form—must be reborn every day.
Everyone—no matter how small their active contribution to this eternal renewal may be—must be aware that they too must help creatively in their own small sphere, that they live for themselves and their existence in this idea, and that new life sprouts in place of concepts that are devalued simply by the passage of time: the new Reich must not become frozen in dead phrases and lifeless formalism, but eternally renewed with the springtime of each young generation.

The Intellectuals

There are some comrades who, whenever they fail to understand a conversation or a written text, are quick to resort to the catchphrase “intellectual” - if one then asks what is meant by “intellectual,” one usually receives the most contradictory answers.
At one moment, this term—intended as an insult—is supposed to refer to that far-fetched sphere of sophistical intellectualism belonging to a bygone era, whose most essential element of thought was a juggling, fragmenting analysis; at other times, it serves to disparage all higher mental functions in general and seeks to draw a dividing line between the farm laborer and the intellectual, which would be highly anachronistic today; added to this is the fact that the latter interpretation of the word “intellectual” clearly stems from Marxist vocabulary, and was coined at the time to brand the antithesis of the notorious “proletarian thinking.”
Dr. Goebbels recently explained with commendable clarity that, while he does not count himself among the “intellectuals,” he does claim to be intelligent - what then is the reality of this definition, given that both words—which share the same root—are evidently treated differently in contemporary usage?

As is always the case with terms that were once well-defined but have been reduced to mere catchphrases through overuse and trivialization, their meaning subsequently becomes ambiguous: intelligence—this most noble virtue of the mind—thus evidently has, according to contemporary sensibilities, two effects that are to be evaluated differently, which at once is both edifying and ruinous, both constructive and destructive.
Nothing is more understandable than that, in an era that has settled accounts with the past and is now beginning to build a new world, any force that runs counter to this creative will is decisively rejected - hence, too, the present’s unequivocal commitment to all the constructive forces of the mind and the equally unequivocal rejection of all destructive ones!
But here, too, lies the catch! Not everyone is capable of deciding for themselves which intellectual activities of an analytical nature are productive, and therefore useful, and which are negative, and therefore harmful: this applies in particular to the difficult realm of criticism, which is by no means always inhibiting or even harmful, as some worriers would have us believe.

Every human endeavor that aims to have an impact in the present is subject to the judgment of those it affects: only if it finds the voluntary approval of those it is intended to serve will it be able to endure. This judgment of history—which alone has the authority to determine the value of human achievements—is already taking shape in the present, and the criticism of contemporaries decides whether what was intended remains an imposed utopia or becomes a living force for growth.
Given the significance of each individual’s critical assessment of the events of our time, it is of fundamental importance that the intellectual foundation of this critical understanding rests on sound premises, for only when the individual—because it is always and exclusively the individual who is capable of critical judgment—proceeds from a sound basic attitude will the decisive force, intelligence, act in a constructive and creative manner.
That futile, pathological dissection of all physical and psychological processes, which characterized the intellectual climate of the postwar era, must therefore be rejected by us for this reason alone: because it did not stem from a healthy, natural, and down-to-earth type of person, but rather from that sort of overstimulated, big-city dweller—prematurely worn out by highly developed civilization—who judged all

phenomena in the world solely by their sensational value - postwar journalism, for instance, driven by a craving for ever-new stimuli, had created an atmosphere whose poverty of intellectual content was simply unsurpassable, and which therefore favored exaggerations—particularly in the realm of the psychological—as a surrogate for genuine substance.

Certainly, there may still be people today who, due to their upbringing and habit, rush about in this pseudo-intellectual sphere, and whose intelligence therefore operates exclusively in the negative—in the uncomprehending rejection of all those intellectual phenomena that are now beginning to grow naturally and simply on a healthy foundation—but it is not these remnants of a bygone era that we mean, but a far more dangerous breed of contemporaries! What we are referring to are those who believe that primitiveness means health and that poverty means simplicity - these people pose a far greater danger to our cultural life.

Let us not misunderstand the prerequisites of the spiritual life of our century, which naturally presupposes—in all its forms—a long, centuries-old development, including in terms of consciousness: just as education and knowledge are necessary to correctly recognize the inner logic of today's events in the first place, only the intelligent person will be capable of taking an independent stance on the events surrounding them.

Times of social upheaval, such as those of the French Revolution, have always produced a veritable inflation of concepts: the cheap catchphrase reigns supreme, and faster than one might think, it becomes a hollow phrase, emptied of any independently felt content.

This applies not only to politics—where it is a phenomenon inevitably familiar to every historian—but also to all other realms of the mind, to which the collective influence of the present, in whatever form, extends.

The only force that can effectively prevent this decline of intellectual values into impotence and stupidity is the alert intellect of those social strata that, by virtue of their sound instincts and sound judgment, are destined to provide the nation's intellectual leadership - we therefore need nothing more urgently than an alert and trained intellect to prevent the values whose validity we fought for three years ago from being devalued by ignorance and folly.

Education and Knowledge

“An uneducated person”—to state the obvious from the outset—is and remains a derogatory term, for anyone who allows their intellectual faculties to lie dormant, and especially anyone who does not consider it necessary to form their own view of the world, should not be surprised to be regarded as a second-class citizen.
Therefore, in an age that regards the greatest possible elimination of class distinctions as one of its most important tasks, the question of what “education” actually means—and to what extent it has to do with knowledge and erudition—will be of great significance.

First of all, it must be noted that true education actually depends on only one requirement: diligence.
The days when it was believed that the material crammed into students’ heads by secondary schools constituted, in and of itself, a so-called “good general education” are long gone, for the subject matter taught at high schools of various levels—including gymnasiums, lyceums, and Realschulen—belongs, like everything that can be learned, to the realm of knowledge.
Only through independent processing can this knowledge be transformed into a formative overview—that is, a worldview—and it is virtually typical that only the very few young people who have graduated from higher educational institutions succeed in doing so.

For the overwhelming majority of high school graduates and college students, what they learned in high school remains dead weight that they are intellectually incapable of processing, so much so that a famous educator once coined the mocking phrase: “The first task of a high school graduate is to forget everything he has learned so far” - this means that it is never—least of all in secondary schools—a matter of the quantity of knowledge retained by the individual, but solely a matter of whether the young person who has gone through these preliminary stages of academic training is capable of building his or her own house from the building blocks now at his or her disposal.
So what, the “educated” of yesteryear will ask in astonishment, constitutes true education today, if not even a high school diploma is to serve as proof of such?
Well—we recognize no class privileges, and therefore none in the realm of privileged education either: while those young people who are fortunate enough to take the easiest path to acquiring knowledge—because their parents can afford it—undoubtedly have a certain head start over their less affluent peers, they do not thereby gain a greater claim to recognition in the new state.
True public education does indeed require schooling and structured guidance, but it will always and in every case be up to each individual to first acquire, through their own efforts, the level of knowledge that is the self-evident foundation of all education.

So what is education? It is the ability to find one’s way in the world of facts and phenomena based on one’s own judgment.
A person is not educated simply because they speak foreign languages, but a person is uneducated if they cannot distinguish an oak from a beech, or if they do not have a general understanding of how a steam engine or an electric bell works - it is precisely in this example that the glaring lack of education among most of today’s “educated” people becomes clearly apparent, for what matters is not that one masters the physical laws of steam pressure or electric current, but quite simply that one can explain two phenomena

encountered daily in accordance with their meaning: it is undignified to allow oneself to be served by a machine whose mode of operation is a mystery to one.
Every self-respecting person will feel the need to grapple with the extraordinary phenomena they encounter on their life's journey, for it is not their mind, but their heart that will be driven by this thirst for knowledge: they will not allow there to be phenomena in their environment—that is, among all things within their field of vision—that elude their judgment, their insight, and thus their will.

Therefore, education must be something entirely different depending not on one's social status, but on one's profession.
I know a farmer whom I count among the most educated people I know, even though he has acquired very little book learning beyond his elementary school education; the driving force of his nature is an insatiable thirst for knowledge, but he acquires this knowledge solely through his own thinking, after having gathered factual material through conversations with people who are highly educated.
His conclusions and reflections possess all the magic of creative intuition that is unique to people who are close to nature, and discussing philosophical and scientific problems with him is far more enlightening than a discussion with experts, because his impartiality always stems from the completely unified and coherent worldview that is the result of this man's admittedly very expansive life experience—he went to sea in his youth, and has seen almost every country in the world with open eyes.
When this man speaks of Indian sculpture or Gothic cathedrals, one feels far closer to these phenomena than when reading works on art history, because his level of consciousness is far closer to that of the builders and creators of these works of art than to that of people of civilization; when he speaks of the character of his Frisian landscape, of the history of his tribe and his favorite region, or of the documentation of his people's dying language, then one feels all the more keenly how meager our academic knowledge is in comparison to this emotionally charged penetration not only into the substance, but, above all, into the meaning of things.

Before we attempt a positive summary, let us first consider the flip side of the whole matter—namely, the delusion that great knowledge is synonymous with education.
The best proof of this is the overwhelming majority of our scholars: while the previous century was accustomed to placing the strict requirement on young scholars to master the basic elements of all related disciplines equally, the advancing specialization of individual disciplines has increasingly limited the aptitude test to the actual field of study - consequently, not only many of today's students, but also their teachers are often characterized by a downright grotesque ignorance in all those areas that have nothing to do with their field of study or teaching.
This applies in particular to the subject matter that must be mastered by anyone who wishes to claim the ability to create any intellectual values themselves—namely, the history of human behavior over time, which includes, first and foremost—as the framework of the whole—a sufficient overview of the political history of all countries, peoples, and races, as well as a certain knowledge of cultural contexts and cultural phenomena, that is, art and literature; added to this is a reasonably well-founded knowledge of the Earth and of life itself—that is, of astronomy, natural science, chemistry, and physics.
Only with such a foundation will it be possible to achieve something original in one's own field, for it is completely pointless to produce specialized work if one does not know how it fits into the broader context of human development.

The higher the level of intellectual achievement is to be, the more universal its foundation must be: it is presumptuous when theologians who know neither Plato nor Confucius speak of morality; it is ridiculous when lawyers administer justice without knowing the development of the Germanic sense of justice and, in particular, without having read Nordic literature and the ancient laws of the peoples of our race themselves.

What, then, really matters?
Everyone has a duty to fill the scope of their personality with their own insight, for not only can one's profession and field of work be truly experienced in this way—so that they do not stand as an alien, oppressive force alongside or even above the individual—but also one's actual living space, the domestic sphere, one's homeland, and the landscape will present a person truly rooted in their existence with ever-new intellectual challenges every day.
This is what constitutes the meaning and value of true education: that it alone offers the possibility of synthesizing the totality of what has been experienced and observed into a higher unity; the innate urge—present in every person of any significance—to evaluate and organize the phenomena within one's field of vision demands respect for the laws of knowledge and, with it, the need to first grapple with this most difficult realm of cognition.
Therefore, at the beginning of any genuine pursuit of education must stand the study of knowledge itself—that is, the attempt to gain an overview of the entirety of human cognition and its laws: philosophy is and remains the mother of all other sciences, just as world history is the foundation for a proper assessment of the present.

It is not knowledge that constitutes education, but the intellectual power that processes it: the more open-minded and free of prejudice a person is, the more likely they are to succeed in acquiring a genuine education - this is why we rejected above any arbitrary limitation of the scope of knowledge to a segment corresponding to one's professional work as typically uneducated.
Incidentally, the same is true of a person who knows too much, for if that knowledge is not grounded in life and reality, dead matter blocks the path to their own insight.
Nothing is as dangerous to true education as pedantry, for the most sublime principle of philosophy teaches that the prerequisite for all true insight is the realization: "I know that I know nothing."

The Humanist Ideal

The cultural heritage of the Renaissance is truly worth defending, since the intellectual values created by humanism became the intellectual property of all of Europe thanks to the devoted diligence of learned scholars: in every country and among every nation, the Latin schools—today's humanistic high schools—ensured that the next generation of intellectuals received not only the necessary scholarly tools, but also an understanding of the spirit of their Greco-Roman cultural heritage.
The new state has no intention whatsoever of disregarding or, much less, interrupting this valuable tradition, as we all know that scholarly work is simply not possible without the self-evident prerequisite of classical literature, if only because all intellectual achievements over more than one and a half millennia have made use of the Latin language.
That is not all, however, for the great idea of Latin culture and its historical mission must not and cannot be disregarded by any of today's European nations, precisely because it is inextricably linked to the history of each individual people.

With all this in mind, we need humanism and its intellectual tools as an indispensable prerequisite for all scholarship: this clearly defines and delimits its sphere of influence, for under no circumstances may it distort or denationalize our political and ideological outlook, as was common practice in the era of liberalism, which stood on its shoulders.
We have by no means forgotten that that pale universalism, which time and again invoked the supranational validity of its intellectual values, derived its claims to validity from the conceptual framework of classical philosophy—which, though it seems kindred in spirit and racially close to us, bears all too clearly in its entire line of argument the stamp of a worldview with an excessively Mediterranean emphasis.
Above all, we must always be clear about this: that our entire educational system—indeed, our entire intellectual world—must be cleansed, down to its very finest details, of that dangerous distortion of the worldview which, until now, all educated people have internalized precisely because of their humanistic education, and which culminated in viewing the Greeks and Romans as the sole creators of culture, while regarding our own ancestors as savage barbarians; we have brought our own distinctive way of thinking to the fore in all fields of science and public life, and therefore cannot tolerate the same ideas—which we have only just eradicated—taking root once again under the guise of scientific rigor.

Medieval Christianity is inconceivable without the doctrine of human sinfulness and without the disciplinary concept of humility—it is precisely these two attitudes that are fundamentally repugnant to us, and, because they are dangerous to the mindset of the Nordic race, must be combated by us with the utmost vigor.
Let us therefore not attempt to blur the boundaries that already lie before us with the utmost clarity - as a scientific foundation, humanism is welcome to us, but as a worldview, it is a dead thing that we do not wish, at any price, to drag from the dead sphere of the distant past into our new future.

Past and Present

I.

A people that does not learn from its history is doomed to perish, for history is nothing other than the sum of the insights and experiences that the great collective known as a people has gathered over the course of its long existence - if any present generation were to disregard the rich treasure of all these painstakingly acquired and, for the most part, hard-won insights, it would be acting no differently than a foolish old man who throws the hard-won experiences of his own long life to the wind and acts, time and again, like a clueless youth.
Historical consciousness is therefore, at its core, nothing other than the living memory of the people as a whole, and for this reason, only those who view the present as a link in the eternal chain of time will be able to see and experience it correctly, in its full scope and with all its prerequisites.

Driven by the inevitable passage of time, what is "the people" today will become the irretrievable "yesterday" as early as tomorrow, and for the same reason that everything we create today in the light of day will already belong to the past by tomorrow, we must also recognize the past as part of ourselves, for the enduring unity of the people does not measure itself in human generations.
On this evergreen tree, new leaves spring forth eternally from the same ancient root that once nourished the young sapling - thus, the past is nothing other than a faithful mirror that shows us other possibilities of life inherent in our very nature: they are realities of life that may have taken shape under different circumstances, but whose prerequisites and forces are also at work within us.

In other words: whoever disregards the history of his people sins against the future, for he contributes to a situation in which stupidity and laziness prevent the people from making use of the rich treasure of their historical experiences in such a way as to find the best possible path into the future.
If, then, historical consciousness is the most vibrant part of a nation's intellectual life, it must never, under any circumstances, become dead scholarship, for nothing has harmed the people as a whole as much as the criminal delusion of materialism, which seeks to alienate historical fields of knowledge from the public consciousness through excessive specialization: just as our art must always remain close to the people, so too is the noblest task of historical scholarship to abandon its previous reclusive isolation and once again make itself and its work accessible to all educated people.
The dead weight of knowledge accumulated during the liberalist century benefits neither the people nor the state, and we have no desire to tolerate any longer the arrogance of certain paid civil servants who, invoking a supposed autonomy of science, claim the right to continue pursuing matters that do not interest the people, and are therefore of no use to them.

II.

"Threefold is the step of time!"
Anyone who wishes to understand the present—anyone who attempts to assess the intellectual and, in particular, the political forces at work in their own environment and society in terms of their true causes—is immediately confronted with one of the most difficult questions of destiny that exists, for,

mindful of Goethe's words that the present "flees as swiftly as an arrow," one must immediately decide which events that have just occurred still possess a lingering vitality at this very moment of reflection, and which others—even if they belong to the very recent past—are already imbued with the breath of death simply by virtue of having passed.
The present, perpetually caught between the two poles of past and future, is for this reason always the enemy of all that is eternal, and since in this world only that which possesses a solid measure of eternity has lasting value, the present—with all its problems and struggles, with all its labors and achievements—is insignificant as long as it is not consciously viewed as a bridge to the future.

For this reason alone, the past is never for us merely that which is dead and gone, but—in the sense of our own objectives—the path, experienced through our own blood, leading to ourselves, to the present, and to our own future and that of our people: such a fundamental attitude toward the past must lead to a revolutionary reordering of all previous historical assessments, and it goes without saying that in this process, the pale universalism of the liberalist century must give way to a conscious and significant overemphasis on those historical events in which we see the foundations of our present national and racial existence.
In no other field of knowledge and understanding does our worldview divide minds more decisively than here, where the task is to construct a new worldview: we are aware that everything the new Reich has created so far and will yet create will endure only if the rising generation infuses the structures we have created with new and independent life, for the inescapable law of time renders what was true yesterday—and even what is true today—obsolete by tomorrow.
We realize that the youth of our people will not judge us or our work by our own standards, nor do we have any inclination to fall into the delusion of all those nostalgic old-timers who, when they speak of the "good old days," embarrassingly display their lack of adaptability, their lack of creativity, and above all, their inability to recognize themselves.

III.

The liberalist era viewed history as a relatively dry field of knowledge, the study of which was left to the experts: the result was an unprecedented desolation of this entire intellectual realm.
Scholars, wherever they were left to their own devices, have always staked their honor on cultivating a field, one that was removed from the concern of the masses and the interest of so-called broader strata: this was done in a manner that, within a short time, made it impossible for the people as a whole to participate in this work.
The reason for this approach—still familiar to older scholars today—was that dangerous principle of the materialist worldview, namely, that human beings, with all their deeds and aspirations, are always merely the product of their material environment, and that, consequently, historiography, wherever it deals with past life, must take the utmost care to exclude everything contemporary and living - in this way, historiography became a museum-like curiosity that dealt only with what was absolutely dead and was therefore itself shrouded in the stench of the morgue.
The consequence of this fundamental attitude was the peculiar scholarly delusion that it was already an intellectual achievement to tackle past eras and their records using the dangerously fraying tools of source criticism; these indeed useful but inconsequential henchmen of science forgot that creative scholarship

begins only where their work ends, for what matters is the reconstruction of past life, not its registration and archival cataloging, however necessary these may be.

The overwhelming majority of today's scholars have not yet abandoned this outdated viewpoint of yesteryear, and do not yet realize that, from the people's perspective, the detailed work of individual disciplines must remain insignificant piecemeal efforts unless, immediately and simultaneously with it, a creative synthesis of the material studied takes place in a form accessible to the entire population.
This criticism applies in particular to the field of German prehistory, where—since Gustaf Kossinna's outstanding achievement—and despite all the efforts of the new state, no handbook has been produced that is even remotely suitable for public use that makes the immense findings of this very branch of science accessible to the educated public as a whole.

IV.

Scholars do not falsify history, apart from a few who, for political reasons—mostly as henchmen of supranational powers—lend themselves to this - there is, however, a category of contemporaries who, for reasons that are sometimes quite honorable, distort historical facts simply because the true historical picture was not at all accessible to their understanding: this sort of scientific parasite is far more dangerous than solitary scholarship, and there is nothing from which the new, people-oriented science must distance itself more decisively than from those laypeople who believe they must substitute their ignorance with fantasies.

History is a field of knowledge that requires the most precise training and the strictest scientific discipline - it is unacceptable to disregard the fundamental prerequisites of scholarly work, which, as the basis of all knowledge, demand the most meticulous evaluation of sources.
It is a sign of limited receptivity and even less capacity for independent thought when someone, for example, by misappropriating Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the 20th Century*, presumes to portray the formidable figure of Charlemagne—solely because of the chapter on the massacre of the Saxons, which is indeed more than tragic for us as a loss of blood—as nothing but a devil, black on black, as if this towering Germanic king, whose blood is of our finest stock, had not, on the other hand, saved the threatened tribes of Germany by uniting them (against their will!).
It is equally foolish to condemn the Italian policy of the greatest German kings of the Middle Ages with cheap slogans as merely unpatriotic and alien to the country, as if these rulers had not, precisely because, as German kings, they wore the Roman imperial crown and were therefore called to be rulers of Western Christendom, sought to find confirmation of the true power and greatness of the German people in Italy, the threatened southern land of Germany.
In other words: specialized knowledge of individual minor events is by no means sufficient for a true understanding of history, for it takes far more than mere specialization to view events correctly, and above all, to recognize the broader contexts in their fateful interconnection.

This applies in particular to those interdisciplinary fields of scholarship that have unfortunately become a popular playground for so-called amateur researchers today: as much as the scientific community may rejoice that unbiased minds are finally participating in its work again—that, through the collaboration of

all fellow citizens, scholarship is finally reestablishing a vital connection with the demands of the present—it must be equally wary of the cheap prejudices that cling to every obsession, even the noblest, for it would amount to falsifying history if, for whatever reason, one were to distort the picture of the past through fixed ideas.

V.

Finally, however, there is also a clouding of consciousness that is far more dangerous than the delusions of specialists and the fantasies of laypeople - it is the inescapable fact that, almost without exception, all educated members of our generation were educated at institutions oriented either toward classical humanism or liberal realism, which leads to a disastrous distortion not only of the body of knowledge itself, but also of the very foundations of all knowledge.
It requires a task as arduous as it is protracted to free oneself from the ways of thinking that have been, so to speak, absorbed with one's mother's milk, and have therefore mostly become subconscious—ways of thinking that are rooted, without exception, in liberal-materialist ideology.
Disguised materialism is more dangerous than openly admitted materialism: what good does it do us if such minds pretend to march in our ranks while, in reality, with their thinking—which runs counter to our worldview—they undermine the foundation of the new state?

It is not knowledge—nor is it information—that matters, for both are the self-evident prerequisites of all scientific activity: what we demand is that all who wish to contribute to the portrayal of our people's history find that decisive shift in thought and feeling within themselves which is the prerequisite for the new state, a resolute turning away from matter as such, and the whole person's enthusiastic devotion to the idea, wherever it has been and is active in the past and present.
We are not interested in the past, but in creative achievements from historians, achievements that have something to say to us, for history is nothing other than the sum of insights and experiences that the great unity known as the people has gathered over the course of a long life.

Postwar Visual Arts

I.
Us and Art

Time and again, we find ourselves in the awkward position of having to grapple with things that are actually long since tainted and dead, and which, because they belong to a fateful period of our history that we have fortunately overcome, would be better left unmentioned altogether.
However, this must not prevent us from seeing these things clearly and distinguishing between what truly belongs to the postwar era in terms of worldview—and can therefore be considered by us as a thing of the past—and what, on the other hand, was created as genuine, enduring values even in that era, which is now barely comprehensible to us, and is therefore also important to us.

Such a distinction between the temporary and the eternal, the artistically valuable and the trivial, the creative and the uncreative, requires not only a precise knowledge of the subject matter, but also an eye trained in art history and critical analysis - for this reason alone, all those contemporaries who are in the habit of dismissing everything they do not understand with the convenient catchphrase “cultural Bolshevism” should first familiarize themselves with the artistic developments at the beginning of our century before passing frivolous judgments on the value or lack thereof of works of art.
While we certainly demand that German art of the future be accessible to the people and universally understandable, this does not mean, on the other hand, that every Tom, Dick, and Harry should feel called upon to pass universal judgments on works of art.
“Culture has always been the preserve of the few”—this proud statement by one of our greatest thinkers still holds true today, and implies that the majority of the masses need not be called upon to share in the true achievements and insights of their time - of course, this is not to say that, as in the past, a privileged class should have exclusive possession of cultural assets and the understanding of them based on some advantages in education and upbringing, but rather, it is a purely organic inadequacy—regardless of social status—that separates those called to understand art from those who are not: namely, the dullness and obtuseness that naturally keep some people from all intellectual pleasures.

It was one of the most fundamental errors of the past era to believe that the propertied bourgeoisie was best suited to appreciate artistic matters, and was therefore called upon to shape cultural production as the supporting class, for it is precisely among the bourgeoisie that indifference is, proportionally speaking, far greater than among any other “class” of the old class-based state - because of this, the very strongest and most creative artistic achievements of the bourgeois era in Germany have been emphatically anti-bourgeois, while in contrast, an appreciation for cultural values is particularly well-developed among the intellectually active strata of the working class, a fact further evidenced by the fact that it is precisely from this class that the most creative and powerful talents of modern times have emerged.
Thus, participation not only in the creation of new art, but also in the appreciation of the works of art of past eras, is limited to the relatively large circle of all those who take the trouble to delve into the essence of the arts in order to grasp their meaning, for art is by no means intended merely for pleasure, nor is it meant solely to embellish our moments of celebration, but rather, it is meant to reveal and interpret the essence of life and to lend permanence to this interpretation.

When, in time, nothing remains of some of the present-day achievements in government and the economy, or of the many great political and organizational feats we are privileged to witness, other than the historian's sober account, the works of art created today alone will proclaim whether our era has succeeded in achieving its true moral goal, namely: to make human beings more perfect.
Art is therefore the touchstone of every other human achievement; it is the pure mirror that holds before our eyes the eternal value of all things in the phenomenal world, and it is—and this constitutes its principal value—eternal in the mythical sense.

Given this high regard for the value of art, we must take special care to avoid errors in our assessment of both the present and the most recent artistic era: on the one hand, because a false assessment of postwar art in particular threatens to interrupt the living stream of creative development that connects us to the great cultural achievements of Germany's past, and on the other hand, because an uncritical adoption of pernicious influences from the era of destructive artistic decline is highly dangerous.
Therefore, as we attempt in the following discussion to point out a way out of this confusion, we hope thereby to convey to a wider audience a true understanding of how to properly assess contemporary art, for only when the intellectually active elements of the entire nation participate in the building of our culture will it become possible to create new, enduring values.

II.
The Kronprinzenpalais

Especially in the daily press, postwar art is frequently labeled in its entirety as "culturally Bolshevik": the implication is that the views expressed in the majority of the works created at that time are closely related to the collectivist-materialist worldview of political Bolshevism; furthermore, a whole series of artistic works from the postwar period do indeed have a direct political tone.
This observation is indeed accurate, and just how accurate it is becomes clear upon a visit to the Kronprinzenpalais, the Reich capital's premier collection of contemporary art: let us take a tour of this highly peculiar assemblage of the most disparate objects as an opportunity to examine the question of "cultural Bolshevism."

This collection of artworks is the result of a once-contemporary assessment, and the men responsible for this museum were perhaps (certainly) acting in good faith when they purchased the works from the respective years that seemed most significant to them and presented them to the public as artistic enjoyment; in the meantime, however, developments in Germany have taken a different course, and a new spirit has emerged that, for well-considered reasons, has drawn a thick line under the misguided tendencies of a bygone era - therefore, in an age that requires all available resources for the creation of an art that is appropriate to us and truly in keeping with our nature, it is no longer acceptable to place the destructive forces of the postwar period on the same level as those that we still regard positively today.
The management at the Kronprinzenpalais thus set about rearranging its collection of artworks accordingly and removing those deemed worthless in this context: in and of itself, this would have been perfectly acceptable if this reorganization had truly been in keeping with the spirit of the new era, but the management at the Kronprinzenpalais must be criticized for having shown, in the reorganization of its collection—without any sense of true quality, and with a vile opportunism that eyed the marketability of

certain “masters” still popular today in the Jewish art trade—a near-total lack of understanding for the cultural aspirations of the new Reich - indeed, it is precisely as if these gentlemen, under the guise of art history, were intent on continuing to promote precisely those things whose complete eradication seems to us imperative; added to this is a shameful lack of skill on the part of the curators themselves, which can elicit nothing but a pitying smile from any seasoned observer.

Let us take a closer look at the current state of affairs: immediately upon entering the portal, a modest but striking little sign invites us to visit the “foreign masters” - thank God, they have happily discovered that the true cultural Bolsheviks, namely Klee[1], Kandinsky[2], and Feininger[3], were foreigners!
In the past, of course, they were proudly counted among our own, but unfortunately, due to their newfound pretentiousness, these pioneers of “absolute” matter have not yet had to take to the streets - incidentally, let it be noted right here that we are by no means indifferent to this stage of art’s development, but rather oppose it for good reasons.
We believe that the highest degree of differentiation in artistic means—the masterful command of which we, too, acknowledge, for example, in Klee—does not grant the right to flee into the childishly playful sphere of nonchalance, which is the antithesis of true artistic creation; we also recognize Kandinsky’s talent for construction, but we are of the opinion that this path of the consistent dissolution of form can only ever lead to aesthetic isolation and intellectual fragmentation; finally, Feingener’s power of spatial perception is even more comprehensible to us than the achievements of the two artists just mentioned, but we are of the opinion that geometric form is not a means of representing the living, but rather an abstraction that, within the visual arts, diverts attention from the object to the viewer.
Amid the foreign works hangs Kokoschka[4] as well, represented by a significant portrait, a harmless still life, and a wonderful Impressionist landscape.

On the first floor, we are greeted by a chaotic jumble, for alongside a few masters of the postwar period—whose talent captivates us even when, in one or the other case, a worldview that is no longer comprehensible to us shines through all too clearly in their works—the most trivial stuff hangs haphazardly, solely to fill the gaps created by storage.
But worse than that! Here one also finds the typical commercial figures of the postwar era, with whom we want absolutely nothing to do with: next to Käthe Kollwitz[5] hangs Karl Gotsch[6]; next to the inspiring works of Franz Marc[7] hangs August Macke[8], whose brushstrokes are a torment to look at, not to mention his complete lack of skill in color theory and composition.
What’s the point, by the way, of a contrived grouping that jumbles people and eras together, so that the uninformed visitor might think the highly controversial Paula Becker-Modersohn[9] belongs entirely with van Gogh and his struggles? After all, a decade full of contrasts lies between the two: if the intention was to highlight affinities and point out similarities in composition and artistic goals, why were the paintings

[1] Paul Klee, Swiss-born German surrealist and Expressionist. - The Translator
[2] Wassily Kandinsky, Russian Abstractionist painter. - The Translator
[3] Lyonel Feininger, German-American and leading exponent of Expressionism. - The Translator
[4] Oskar Kokoschka, Austrian artist and poet who influenced the Expressionist movement in Venice. - The Translator
[5] German artist and Expressionist known for her pacifist artworks. - The Translator
[6] German graphic designer and Expressionist. - The Translator
[7] German artist and a key figure in German Expressionism. - The Translator
[8] German artist and another key figure in German Expressionism. - The Translator
[9] German Expressionist who drew nude self-portraits. - The Translator

hung in such a jumbled manner in the Corinth Hall that the master's fierce, tragically ending struggle against the dissolution of form is not clearly expressed? Nowhere is the subjugation of an artist's individuality to the formal conventions of his era more evident than in the two Walchensee paintings from 1921 and 1925, which hang right in the middle of his Impressionist works.
What the museum administration was thinking when hanging the paintings on the second floor remains to be seen, for here, the true cultural Bolsheviks triumph: Schmidt-Rottluff[10], Nolde[11], their imitators, as well as the incompetents—people like Max Beckmann[12], Karl Kluth[13], Werner Scholz[14], and Max Kaus[15].
It should not be overlooked that even a contemporary as wretched as Schmidt-Rottluff still painted good pictures in 1913: this makes the complete materialistic destruction—the flight into the purely representational—that his more recent paintings represent all the more terrible, indeed criminal.
We also know that Nolde's "Nordfriesland" contained the seeds of a painterly development, but where has he gone, this enthusiast for paint tubes, who could never draw and sought to conceal this with bombastic blurriness and excessive clamor of color?

Thus, the entire gallery of new art is a desolate jumble of untalented work and cold affectation alongside the greatest achievements—a true cultural disgrace that even the harmless final room, with its fine latest works, cannot conceal: it is high time that this nonsense finally comes to an end and that the gallery is hung in such a way that it truly presents the positive as positive.
Whether the negative works are gathered in a "chamber of horrors" or not is a question that does not concern us here. (The author, however, is of the opinion that such an approach completely misses the mark - after all, one would not organize a pornographic exhibition in an effort to combat pornography.)

[10] German Expressionist and socialist. - The Translator
[11] Emil Nolde, a German painter and founder of German Expressionism. - The Translator
[12] German Expressionist who leaned more into brutal, horrifying artworks. - The Translator
[13] German painter. - The Translator
[14] German-Austrian painter and Expressionist. - The Translator
[15] German painter and Expressionist. - The Translator

Art and Politics

A major daily newspaper saw fit to use the previous essay—which, in our view, criticized the improper hanging of the paintings in the Kronprinzenpalais—as a pretext for a veiled polemic against the National Socialist worldview - the author of the article would have been more open and honest if he had called a spade a spade, yet we understand his concerns, even if we do not endorse them, and are happy to descend to his "literary level" to demonstrate that such reasoning—which, in its entire intellectual substance, corresponds to an outdated worldview—is not suited to bringing about the urgently needed clarification.

When we speak of art here, the issue is not one of philosophical or aesthetic clarifications, but simply the question of whether the works of art in question are compatible with our conception—our worldview—or not.

Let us finally understand what we mean by this: worldview! It is a picture of the world and remains for us a unified concept of attitude and appearance, encompassing not only life and achievement, but the totality of all that exists - we, who strive to work toward a greater future through our small daily tasks, cannot tolerate any sphere of life being cut off from the community of national, human, and personal life on the grounds that different laws apply to it.

What does it mean when that critic speaks right at the outset of the "prerequisites for mutual understanding"; why, then, does he position himself on the opposing side from the very outset—which implies that he wishes to stand outside our community? For him, then, National Socialism is a group of dissenters—a party in the old sense. But for us, precisely because of the unity we have strived for and achieved between "party" and state, it is the community of all those who are willing to help shape Germany's future.

What then does our "opponent" actually want when he presses for clarification from his opposing position? He wants to take a stand outside the German community and prove its validity. What does he prove by doing so? That he does not want to understand us.

The crux of the problem is not, as he asks, "Can we justify ourselves before art?", but rather the far more important question: can art justify itself before the present, that is, in this case, before the future?

We could also have phrased it this way: can art justify itself before us?, but that is precisely what we do not mean or intend, for we are neither art critics nor aesthetes, and no discerning observer of the problem will expect an art-historical assessment from us: that is the job of the director of the Kronprinzenpalais, Mr. Hanfstaengl[16].

We, too, are happy to attest that he is very knowledgeable in his field—though it would be even better if it were otherwise—but what he, however, apparently does not seem to grasp is the world-historical situation in which the entire German people—and thus, evidently, he himself as well—find themselves.

This situation imperatively demands the complete unity of all the people's forces, especially, of course, all those who are creative and skilled - therefore, when it comes to works of art and their current evaluation, the primary consideration must not be whether they are artistic in and of themselves, or whether they convincingly captured the spirit of the era in which they were created, but solely whether the creative forces within them are capable of contributing to the building of Germany's present and future—in a figurative sense, of course.

[16] Eberhard Hanfstaengl, director of the Berlin National Gallery from 1934 to 1937. - The Translator

Let us not shy away from the perhaps temporary necessity, in the current clarifying phase of the struggle for a new worldview, to limit the dangerous public impact of those works that, while technically unobjectionable, must be rejected by us solely because of the worldview underlying them.
Let us finally be understood: we, too, are not blind or deaf to the material creative qualities of one or another of the artists we reject, but these works are rooted, in their very essence, in an era that is dead to us, and must remain so.

Most of them have proven that they did not witness the great upheaval in the consciousness of the entire people, and intellectually, almost all of them still stand today in their old position from which they create their works, even if they have changed their political views (which are irrelevant here).
Nothing makes this fact clearer than the way in which that critic justifies his position with, “Words have become ambiguous.” - no, quite the contrary: when speaking of art, words should be simple, clear, and true to reality, rather than stuffy and overly aesthetic.
“It is necessary to leave things—namely, art—in their own sphere, for we can speak of art only when we mean art itself and not politics.” - no, quite the opposite: only when we understand art as what its highest and most beautiful purpose is—a reflection of the totality of the present moment within the eternal—can we truly experience and understand it; this totality includes, first and foremost, the spirit.
In this context, the subject matter of the artwork is not what matters at all, but rather the how and the why: what matters is whether the work of art in question helps to build up—in the sense of the image of our, that is, the future German world—or whether it is intended to tear down, and therefore has that effect.

He continues:

“It is not a matter of judgment from the outset, but of the recognition of being, for only from this is the formation of a value judgment possible: if judgment does not presuppose being, it is always nothing more than a catchphrase.”

Absolutely correct! We see it exactly the same way, but with the opposite sign: the recognition of being comprehends the human condition in all its effects and forces, and therefore presupposes, as the foundation of all behavior in the realm of time, the historical situation in which the individual finds himself.
This is not an “unobjective generalization,” but a fact of faith—it is mythically grounded; it is the true, almost religiously conceived commitment of each individual to the community.

Thus, the artist today is something entirely different from what he was during the era of the dominance of (to use a buzzword) liberal individualism.
Let no one suspect us of wanting to curtail the rights of the individual or, heaven forbid, of misjudging the value of the personality (we will have to discuss this shortly in another context) - but first, in each individual case—taking the perfect unity of creator and work as a given—we ask whether the artist, conscious of his responsibility, feels and regards himself as part of the whole, as a link in the chain, as a bearer and herald of the great unity that the future must embody if it is to become reality.
That is to say: we ask neither for his political “opinion” nor for his “attitude”, for both are only of secondary importance to the realm of art; instead, we ask about his sense of responsibility toward the

present and the future, and we ask whether or not he gives existence a new, positive, and constructive meaning.

“The work is a living expression of the artist’s personal responsibility to his time.” - on this point, then, we agree.
“He is the guardian of humanity, the center amidst the dangers, the intensity of which must necessarily characterize the work in its form.” - we deliberately overlook the veiled attack and note that we are of the same opinion here as well.
But now come the differences, for he argues:

“If we now say that the artist takes no side, neither for nor against, this can only mean that he must not abandon this center of life between the divine and the demonic void for the sake of defending the image of humanity—he must not abandon it as an artist, but as a human being, he will not evade the demands that human society, in the form of the people and the state, places upon him.”

What kind of sophistical dissection of the individual is this—into a part that bears responsibility for eternity, is bound to an anonymous “humanity,” is “unbiased,” and takes no “side,” and a private part that does not “shirk” its obligations to the human community (if necessary)?
We see it exactly the other way around, and at most, we can do without an artist marching in our ranks—it is less important to know whether he serves the public interest as an SS man, in the Reich Air Defense, on the labor front, or in any other capacity, for that is his private affair; the only question is whether his art serves not some vague, supranational “humanity,” but rather the community into which he was born and to which alone he is accountable: the German people.
Truly, “No place of refuge is prepared for him”—namely, if he closes himself off from the great experience of the entire people.

It is—to address, for once in this sole exceptional case, the cowardly tone of the opposing polemic—quite a brazen claim when they assert:

“An era that does not understand him, because it is unclear about the prerequisites, wants to place him in the ranks of the actors, whatever they may be called.”

Precisely because we are clear about the ideological prerequisites of every achievement, we (that is, the actors) want to place him in the only front that exists in the building of Germany’s future: the front of the highest responsibility toward the German community.

Art as a Commodity

The art trade has always existed: art buyers want to have a choice, and therefore, there must be businesspeople who, so to speak, buy works of art in bulk, with the natural consequence of this being that, because of the inevitable risk, they must resell their "merchandise" in each individual case at a high markup over the purchase price if they are to make a living; there is no arguing with the fact that the art dealer needs a disproportionately higher profit margin than the greengrocer, for his "merchandise" and inventory will always remain largely unsellable.
We must keep these fundamental conditions in mind when we scrutinize the harmful abuses that, in part, still prevail in the art trade today.

In this age of materialistic commercialism, the art trade—like all other branches of business— has had to endure an intolerable exaggeration of the profit-driven motives that dominate it, with the result that, depending on the whims of fashion, one artistic movement or another was raised or lowered in price through sophisticated promotional methods, giving rise to a veritable stock market game with fluctuating prices.
Since the art trade had been located almost exclusively in Jewish lands since the 18th century, it was no wonder that this valuation process—geared solely toward monetary gain—eventually ceased to take any account whatsoever of the actual intrinsic value of its objects, but instead promoted whatever was most in line with Jewish sensibilities.
With the intention of raking in large sums as effortlessly as possible, the unscrupulous, almost secret-society-like clique of international art dealers rapidly declared, in quick succession, Naturalism, Impressionism, Expressionism, and finally Cubism and Dadaism to be the sole source of salvation and profit—and the misled public had no choice but to go along with this brazen swindle and pay the exorbitant prices.
This resulted not only in the overvaluation of trifles—which is in itself of no economic significance—but also in a side effect that was highly dangerous from a cultural-political standpoint: the German people (and, incidentally, all other peoples as well) no longer cared about art that was truly relevant to the present and in keeping with the respective intellectual culture; instead, in their artistry, they mindlessly parroted the Jewish ringleaders and based their judgments on the assessments of the "experts."

In recent decades, only what was marketable was considered art, and the only marketable items were the commodities that the Jewish art wholesalers had in stock.
At that time, a contemporary painter could paint as well, as independently, and as responsibly as he wanted—but no one would buy his works if they deviated in any way from the direction proclaimed as valid by the art trade; even when influential voices spoke up in support of the artist in question, they were immediately met with a compelling argument that art is international, and one can never go against the experts' decisions—which, incidentally, are not open to discussion because they are inscrutable.
One might have expected that all this nonsense would have come to an end the moment the German people became aware of their own cultural strengths, but unfortunately, this is by no means entirely the case: as before, the art trade—which even now remains largely Jewish, or at least infected by the Jewish spirit—evaluates contemporary artistic production according to "international" standards, which means that the representatives of long-defunct artistic movements, whom we vehemently reject, are still held in high esteem by it.

That alone, however, is not what challenges us, for the entire mindset of the speculative art trade proves that the Jewish spirit still exerts its sinister power among us today and, through its international connections, strives to continue the former system of unbridled enrichment based on uncontrollable valuations.

We see the role of the art trade in the new state as being entirely to support the young forces of cultural creation and to introduce them to the public: we have no use for the outdated auction process, which senselessly drives up the prices of recognized “masters” solely to create opportunities for selfish profit. An art dealer who deals exclusively in “brand-name items” has no place in our cultural sphere, for he fails to recognize his social duty to bring emerging talents into the light of creative expression - thus, in order to be able to do this at all, the art trade must decisively break away from the corrupt system of past decades, with its usurious and haggled-over prices.
It should also not be overlooked that this will be difficult for the art trade, for no branch of commerce has been as fundamentally corrupt and unscrupulous as the art trade that bought young artists’ works at starvation prices, only to resell them at high prices after years of storage, once the artist in question had perhaps finally made a name for themselves.

Pricing for works by living artists must never be determined exclusively by commercial interests, but rather by a sympathetic consideration of the creative work itself, and if art is to be produced or promoted, the artist’s work—and thus, first and foremost, his livelihood—must be guaranteed: for this reason, it must be insisted that the art trade use its excess profits from the sale of marketable masterpieces to purchase works by aspiring young artists - we believe, however, that this can only be enforced through strict, meticulous oversight.
Art dealers must be aware that they, too, are guardians of national interests in the new state, and must therefore be held to a stricter standard than other merchants, because their “merchandise” is among the most precious cultural assets of the German people.

Offensive Art

The civilized world of the continent and the West was taken by surprise some time ago by a report in *The Times*, which stated that the Holy Father in Rome had commissioned the Italian painter Biagio Biagetti to add pants and veils to the figures in Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, so that Catholic notions of modesty would no longer be offended by the exposed body parts; it was further reported that the Pope's representative had already erected a massive scaffold and begun the work, which was supposed to be completed shortly before Christmas.

In the meantime, the Vatican has denied the report, claiming that from the very beginning the intention was merely to restore the areas that had become damaged over the centuries: we are unable to verify the accuracy of this denial, but it seems beyond doubt that there is currently no intention of allowing Michelangelo's unique works to be defaced by small-minded people—for who else would agree to undertake such work?

It was interesting for us to observe the reaction to *The Times* report, for certain sections of the foreign press, which never tire of expressing outrage over the barbarism and cultural ignorance of National Socialist Germany, were suddenly left speechless: they completely forgot to express outrage over this true cultural disgrace, and even the *Pariser Tagblatt* of Mr. Georg Bernhard, who otherwise certainly does not skimp on verbal insults, could muster only "extreme bewilderment", something which art lovers around the world would also greet this "moral measures" from the Vatican.

This leniency, as I said, is worth noting, especially when one recalls the frenzied outcry those same people raised in the name of the community when, after January 30th, 1933, Germany had pyres erected in public squares to burn the wildest monstrosities of foreign thought that had influenced our people for years.

The report in *The Times* thus once again draws attention to the chequered fate to which the great master's murals have been subjected over the centuries, and while the Catholic Church is particularly fond of emphasizing the lessons of its 2,000-year-old history, we, too, can learn from this—namely, that a remnant of that spirit we tend to call the Middle Ages has not died out to this very day.

Perhaps the greatest artistic genius of all time, Michelangelo, crowned his life's work with a monumental painting that covers the entire altar wall of the Sistine Chapel: the very same room whose high groined vault he had adorned at the age of 33 with those creations that represent the most magnificent achievements monumental painting had ever produced, was now to be transformed by the sixty-year-old artist into a tabernacle of Christian humanity, in which he would bestow upon the ceiling fresco depicting the Old Testament—which, so to speak, encompassed the sacred space within itself—a symbol that represented the ultimate expression of the New Testament.

The great artist—or rather, the pope, who was well advised by him—chose for this purpose a depiction of the Last Judgment—a monumental undertaking that simultaneously required the visualization of Christian conceptions of eternal bliss as well as the prerequisites for it, namely the Christian virtues.

On the Day of Judgment—that is, on the day of the resurrection of the flesh—all earthly things fall away from those who are entering either eternal bliss or eternal damnation: just as it once emerged from the Creator's hand, humanity stands before its Judge, naked and bare.

This is not only a matter of course in artistic representation but also a theological and ideological prerequisite: the assumed equality of all human beings can hardly be expressed more simply and vividly than precisely through the absence of clothing, for otherwise, depending on the tastes of the time or the artist's perspective, the painting—intended to be timeless—would inevitably have been confined to the

era of its creation, quite apart from the fact that even the tiniest scrap of clothing or, indeed, period-specific attire would necessarily have revealed social or class distinctions.
The seemingly bold decision to adorn the most sacred chapel of the Papal Palace—conceived as the center of Catholic Christendom, the place where the "Vicars of God" are elected—with an image depicting the saints and the damned, and even the Eternal Judge, naked, was thus a well-considered one.
Neither the Pope nor the cardinals consulted had the slightest objection to Michelangelo's artistic approach, for Paul III, the last pope imbued with a truly humanistic spirit, was fully aware that the Sistine Chapel would become the most revered place of pilgrimage in the world in the future—not only because it was the Pope's main chapel, but also because of the masterpiece by the greatest painter in human history - after all, having just ascended to the papacy, he had urged the master with great impetuosity to begin his work, exclaiming: "For thirty years I have longed for this day!"
He knew that his name would long since have been forgotten, like that of many other popes, were it not for the fact that his commissioning of these paintings would save him from oblivion.

Nevertheless, there was no shortage of envious critics and naysayers who raised their voices immediately after the artwork's completion, and even while the work was still in progress, the papal master of ceremonies, Biagio, had remarked that the many nude figures violated propriety—and doubly so in such a consecrated space.
Michelangelo took genuine artistic revenge in return: he placed the impertinent critic in Hell as a judge of the dead, and the pope took great delight in this pointed joke.
But no sooner had Paul IV ascended to the Holy See a few years later—a pope who, as the chief architect of the Catholic Restoration, sought to reestablish the medieval condemnation of the body—than the voices multiplied that saw the nude figures as a threat to public morality.
Unlike his namesake, Paul IV failed to recognize that Michelangelo's figures, by virtue of their towering artistic grandeur alone, possessed the most dignified garment conceivable: he ordered the entire painting to be whitewashed over, and it was the objection of a large number of cardinals—and ultimately that of the emperor—that saved the threatened sanctuary of humanity.
Faced with the storm of indignation provoked by his barbaric iconoclasm, the Pope felt compelled to content himself with painting over particularly "offensive areas"—that is, the lower abdomen of nearly all the male and female figures.
It was not entirely easy, in an era when art was generally appreciated, to find a man willing to commit such a shameful act, and for the elderly Michelangelo, who had to live to see this insult to his most exquisite work, had not held back on his scorn: "Tell His Holiness that a painting can easily be altered; let him rather change the world!"
Finally, one of Michelangelo's students, Danielo Rieciarelli, volunteered to drape the naked figures in garments; he then proceeded as gently as possible, and took years to complete his work, always hoping that a change would come about after Paul IV's death - however, the subsequent popes, too, insisted on continuing this disgraceful work.
Since Ricciarelli had clothed the saints too scantily, he was replaced by Girolamo da Fano, who completed the unfortunate task - thus, through this activity, both men acquired a nickname that was far more enduring than their painting, as they came to be known simply as "trouser painters," and as such they have gone down in art history.
The trouser painters had, perhaps out of respect for the master, used paint that did not last: in the 18th century, when the gloomiest pedantry and a world-renouncing aversion to the earthly realm dominated the

Vatican, this disgusting crime against the most precious treasure of Western culture was repeated in a truly hideous manner; for now, heedless of the destructive effect, garish Baroque colors were introduced into Michelangelo's somberly harmonized symphony of colors.

Rightly so, when scholarly art history began to study Michelangelo in the last century, every generation of researchers was outraged by this desolate barbarism, and repeatedly and emphatically demanded the restoration of the painting to its only worthy form—namely, as the master created it.
A Nordic creative spirit produced these works of art—a man who proudly (whether justifiably or not is open to question) considered himself a descendant of a Lombard count and a German emperor; they were created in a powerful era that looked down upon cowardice and weakness, and that saw itself as the rebirth of antiquity, but above all as a bright dawn after the dark night of the Middle Ages.
We view the Middle Ages differently than the people of the Renaissance, but we agree with them in that, like the ancients, we regard the healthy human being, with healthy senses and a healthy mind, as the foundation of the state: just as the Renaissance did, we condemn all backward-looking bigotry that seeks to perpetuate the medieval defamation of the body—this most terrible ideological danger.
The denigration of the body has, as anyone with eyes to see—including the Pope—can observe, produced political consequences that today can only be eliminated with a sharp sword, for what is the Red Terror in Spain if not the natural consequence of centuries of subjugation of the physical and mental health of a people who, as a result, have forgotten that moral standards must be rooted in what is human.
If Spain is now, just like Italy twelve years ago, entering a new, vigorous era, the most important and fundamental change will be that the physical training of youth is based on a new, ideological foundation: the body and its senses are no longer, as they were during the centuries of ecclesiastical rule, frowned upon and "offensive", but are once again what they were in classical antiquity—the foundation of a strong, self-assured national character.

The Latin nations have it easy, for they can build upon the tradition of Roman greatness, which has never entirely died out, and in this way will soon overcome the political insignificance to which the decline of their physical culture—and thus their heroic spirit—condemned them in the past few centuries: as the example of Italy has shown, a turnaround and rise require very little time.
Nor do we fail to recognize the great mission in world history that, particularly during the centuries of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, made the papacy and the Church the custodians of the cultural heritage of the classical world: we, too, owe a great deal to the achievements and creative vision of the Church leadership of that time in the form of the imperishable masterpieces of the visual arts, created by the will to power and the artistic sense of responsibility of great popes - however, this bond, which—despite all other differences—has connected us to the Catholic world to this day, will be severed if, at this moment, petty barbarism lays hands on the most precious treasures that humanity possesses.
We, who are so often and so readily labeled "barbarians" by the Vatican—we appeal to the cultural conscience of the world! Do not destroy what can never, ever be recreated with equal value, and have reverence for the only power that unites all people: the eternal beauty of art.

Offensive?

There was a time when the contrast between body and soul formed the cornerstone of thinking - however, in its battle against the energetic and life-affirming Nordic ruling class of all European states at that time, Christian medieval dogma used the Oriental concept of original sin and declared all natural bodily urges, even the entire healthy sensory life, to be hostile to God: the entire world of this life was contrasted with a world of the soul, detached from it, so to speak, by using the hope of the hereafter as the driving force behind the supposed ennoblement of man.
Within this whole system of dogma, which is alien to our nature and essence, the rule of the strong, life-loving Germanic peoples over the world was to be hollowed out from within and ultimately brought down, with the most dangerous argument in the chain of all these sophistries being the doctrine which said that the life of the soul had an unconditional prerogative in all areas, which would have been synonymous with the rule of the clergy in political matters as well.
On the whole, the Nordic spirit has triumphed over this medieval, gloomy world of belief in sin, and we know that, as the ancient Greeks and Romans, who still felt Nordic, already recognized that a healthy soul can only dwell in a healthy body, and that true humanity only exists when soul and body, inner and outer life, form a perfect unity.
We believe that the lofty demand once made by Nietzsche, that “a time will come when the spirit will be as at home in the senses as the senses are in the spirit,” will soon be fulfilled: therefore, we want nothing to do with the defamation of physicality that still haunts the minds of some “do-gooders.”
In Zarathustra's words, "Have I commanded you to kill your senses? I say to you: ennoble your senses!“, we also recognize its application to us - we must recognize that the contempt for the ‘flesh’ was nothing more than a political weapon of the ”sub-races," who took revenge for the fact that their own pitiful physicality caused them to fall short everywhere in the world compared to the physically fit Nordic master class.

We are proud to have returned to the healthy sensibilities of our ancestors, and therefore, the new state devotes its special care to the racial physical health of the growing generation.
Nordic Hellenism had already established the eternally valid guidelines for the physical well-being of our race, and ever since the Renaissance, when the Nordic attitude to life triumphed over monastic obscurantism, the figures of classical sculpture have begun their triumphal march across the world as the most perfect expressions of the human sense of beauty: no one, not even the popes, who artfully promoted the revival of classical antiquity, thought to morally object to this irrefutable canon of the ideal of beauty, apart from a few fig leaves that the dying Middle Ages quickly attached to their original branches.
The triumph of great German painting in the late Renaissance, especially that of Dürer, Holbein, and Cranach, then gave art the inner and outer freedom of physical representation necessary to produce perfect works, for the human body will always be the highest conceivable object of artistic creation - just as nature created man, he should not be afflicted with the shortcomings of the individual, but rejoice in the highest perfection of all forms and formations of the body; he should preach a joy of life close to this world to the viewers of works of art, and glorify the victory of healthy sensibility over that monastic asceticism that is hostile to existence.
Baroque and Classicism, and above all the masterpieces of the last century, have uniformly developed this sense of beauty among all civilized peoples, so that even a generation ago it was no longer considered offensive to choose completely naked figures as motifs for works of art.

None of our greatest painters and sculptors are exceptions to this - neither Schwind nor Feuerbach or Menzel or Klinger or Rauch or Begas shied away from depicting the human body in unclothed nudity, and that would be perfectly fine if if it weren't for the representatives of that extensively described medieval theory of sin, who regard any glorification of beauty as a crime, trying once again to skillfully apply their antediluvian[17] poisonous injections.

As always, they are quick to claim that displaying the naked human body is fundamentally pagan and encourages fornication: how they intend to justify the latter assertion remains a mystery to us, of course, because they always limit themselves to saying that physicality is synonymous with sinfulness.
A typical example of this kind is the letter from Pastor Stephan Vollert in Greiz to the editors of the *Völkischer Beobachter*:

"What can one say about the special edition of the 'Völkischer Beobachter' with its depiction of 'German art' in the form of a naked woman: does German art not have other, more noble subjects than this? I was ashamed when I got my hands on the paper, and immediately cut out two offensive pictures from the 'Beobachter' and tore them up: one must remember that the paper falls into the hands of simple folk and children - does the 'Völkischer Beobachter' want to introduce nudity to them?"

There are three things we need to examine closely in this cultural document - first, here is the sufficiently marked medieval attitude on display that a naked body, especially a female body, is not something noble, but something offensive and vulgar; such an attitude, developed logically from a Christian perspective, no longer has much to do with Christianity as it is generally preached today, because Christianity has long since recognized the mortification of the senses and the resulting declaration of the inferiority of the physical as nonsense.
Hardly any Protestant pastor—for Vollert is one—would wish to see the unhealthy scholastic ways of thinking of the Inquisition era resurrected, and with this skewed attitude toward art, Mr. Vollert is likely to stand completely alone, for the overwhelming majority of the German people consider art to be the highest expression of cultural life and thus of the nation's will to eternity: is it so difficult to understand that art, as the most perfect object of its creative will, necessarily chooses the naked body, or, to remain in Christian terminology, the most perfect work of the Creator?
This brings us to the second argument - Pastor Vollert was ashamed and, to ease his conscience, staged a kind of private "auto-da-fé"[18] - certainly, this heresy trial took place in his quiet hermitage, and the only victims of this highly embarrassing inquisition were two innocent pieces of paper: above all though, what is this, in essence, other than a small-scale witch burning, with exactly the same moralistic arrogance that the Pope's mass-murdering emissaries in Germany liked to engage in centuries ago?
We also have a third criticism of Pastor Vollert - his attack on public opinion takes the form of the strange assertion that art should not be allowed to fall into the hands of "simple folk" and children: what must be going on inside the mind of a person who sees something morally dangerous in a picture of ideal nudity, quite apart from the fact that the aforementioned restriction shows that Vollert clearly sees art as the privilege of a certain class?

[17] Meaning "before the flood", which means that the beliefs of these priests and monks are incomprehensibly old. - The Translator
[18] A ritualized act of public penance, common in Spain during the Spanish Inquisition. - The Translator

Certainly, there will be some controversial elements in these representations, especially in modern art, despite the purge – does that mean we need to fear that schoolchildren will be corrupted when we take them to museums?
Here, too, the saying “to the pure, all things are pure” applies – that, in a sense, refutes Vollert's accusations.

At the end of his letter, Pastor Vollert launches another fanfare of attack: he accuses the *Völkischer Beobachter* of promoting nudism, which shows that the letter writer has failed to recognize the deep inner connection between art and a worldview that affirms the body.
Since we have expressly defended the right of art to depict the naked body, we must, for better or worse, also comment on the very delicate intellectual relationships that connect so-called “nudity culture” with art:
We have explained above that every life-affirming and energetic era must affirm the body as the healthy vehicle of all human experience, and like no other time since the age of the Greeks and Romans, our century has restored the physicality that had been stunted by the Middle Ages to its rightful place - thus, it was no wonder that, in the course of this movement, isolated enthusiasts have overshot the mark.
Towards the end of the 1890s, a large number of communities, mostly organized as associations, sprang up, which, usually in strict seclusion, exaggerated the general demand of the time for physical culture by turning the tables and declaring nudity to be the only possible form of physical exercise; these peculiar prophets went so far as to declare, with the most solemn pathos of conviction, that this was the only way to successfully combat real immorality, for once one had become accustomed to the noble purity of “naked culture,” one would despise and avoid the bodily malfunctions caused by civilization.
The enthusiastic followers of this movement ultimately became so “dogmatic” that they believed swimming in swimsuits or bathing trunks to be an immoral act, because covering certain parts of the body was seen as defaming them as immoral: this was a view that was entirely logical and consistent, but whose consequences inevitably led to an intolerable exaggeration of the whole problem, with all these nude bathing clubs claiming to be patented world reformers and, in the Weimar era, which provided fertile ground for all kinds of extreme special interests, the politically very left-wing associations of “sun worshippers” and similar organizations flourished merrily: it would be not only unfair, but also wrong to hold the nationalist movement, which has always advocated a healthy view of these matters, responsible for what has happened in these circles.
But because of the mischief that the Marxists have wrought in this area, we must not throw the baby out with the bathwater and overlook what we consider to be the healthy core expressed in the views of the völkisch movement, which National Socialism fully recognizes: it is not for nothing that Caesar reports that the young men and women of the Germanic tribes bathed naked together in rivers, that this custom is still common in Scandinavia today, and that no one finds anything offensive or even immoral about it - there must be a special reason, which is part of the peculiarity of our race, for this strong emphasis on physicality.
Incidentally, in order to enjoy our healthy bodies, we do not need to engage in any “secret societies,” as is still practiced in some cases today, because the whole matter is a private affair and everyone should ensure that they do not come into conflict with the laws of the state, because, as is well known, nude bathing is rightly prohibited wherever it can cause “public outrage,” that is, where it offends those who think differently.

That is why we do not want a nudist culture like those organized groups that rave about sun and health, as they are often just sensationalist, decadent little gnomes who have turned what is essentially a good thing into a romantic gimmick; in contrast, we simply call for a strong and joyful affirmation of body awareness, because we need this to build a strong and conscious gender that is proud of its race's joy in worldliness, for only then will future generations also meet the high standards in their outward appearance that were a matter of course for any civic evaluation in the time of the Greeks.

We are not prudish - just as a beautiful work of art can never offend our sense of modesty, so too the sight of a naked female body, especially if it is truly beautiful, will not upset our emotional balance.
We instinctively sympathize with the Athenian judges who acquitted the beautiful Phryne, who was accused of allowing herself to be worshipped as Venus, when the defense attorney, who was also one of her worshippers, tore off her robe to present her impeccable, radiant beauty as an argument: we, too, believe that true beauty is something divine, and therefore always demands reverence and respect in all areas of life.
It may be that there are people who, when they see a naked body, must fundamentally rein in their dirty imaginations, but we are not among them, nor do we try to lecture them, for they are corrupt at the core of their souls—any attempts to convince them would be like throwing pearls before swine.

Physical Culture

I.

"Down with the self-appointed guardians of morality and the hypocritical apostles of chastity!"

With this battle cry, Dr. Goebbels has once and for all put an end to the schemes of the busybodies and moralists who, cloaked in fine-sounding phrases about worldview and morality, seek to preach ideas from a bygone era as "German morality."
The Reich Minister made the government's position crystal clear by continuing (in his speech of January 26th, 1934):

"In public life, a great deal of nonsense has developed, whereby public regulations are used not only—as seems right and proper—to define and establish the great fundamental moral laws of our national life, but also, beyond that, to prescribe to the individual in private life a code based on purely personal views: in the long run, this leads to moral snobbery that is anything but National Socialist."

In other words, this means that no one should presume to harass their fellow human beings with moral standards and value judgments derived from their own personal lives.
There is, of course, a public morality, and the law ensures that this—insofar as it corresponds to the moral sensibilities of the entire people—is respected by every individual: however, precisely because the law—and only the law renewed according to National Socialist principles—is designated as the guardian of public morality, no know-it-all should presume to regard his private opinion as universally valid.

Dr. Goebbels's noteworthy statement, however, also holds true in its reverse: everything that is fundamentally connected to the great moral foundation of our national life is removed from the private sphere and left to be defined by the state, even in areas where, for obvious reasons, legal provisions are not yet in place; this applies in particular to those areas of life which, according to our worldview, not only require a completely new structure, but must also be fundamentally reevaluated.
One of the most important of these areas of life is a person's relationship to their own body: while the previous century held the view that the body was the most personal and private matter of every individual, our conception of the state fundamentally rejects this standpoint, for just as any chain is only as strong as its weakest link, so too is the people as a whole largely dependent on the vitality and health of its members.
Precisely because we have recognized the terrible way in which the number of cripples and those with hereditary diseases, the insane and the mentally disabled, the physically inferior, and also those hampered by illness—a number that only in the last century grew into a genuine threat to the state—threatens the life's work of the healthy and capable, we must under no circumstances tolerate these pests of the nation continuing to burden the healthy portion of our people through further increase in the future.
As in all areas of life, negative measures—such as excluding the physically inferior individuals existing today from reproduction—are not sufficient enough: we must take precautions for the distant future and create the conditions to ensure that, in the future, not only will healthier people be born than today, but also that those born healthy will, of their own accord, live in such a way and care for their bodies in such a manner that they become healthy progenitors of future generations.

For this reason alone, physical education is one of the state's most important tasks, and it is unacceptable for private opinions to hinder the painstaking work of development in this difficult field, which discerning men began to undertake decades ago.

Purposeful physical education is possible only where a fundamental shift has taken place in the attitude toward the body itself: this realization is the real reason why we, in particular, are addressing this problem in such depth here.
We consider it our duty to emphasize with particular force to the public the fundamental principle of the National Socialist state—which we actually take for granted—that a healthy mind always and invariably requires a healthy body as a prerequisite, because time and again arguments are put forward by the opposition that stem from a nature alien to our race.
Time and again, it must be made abundantly clear to the German people that the Nordic race does not—and must not—condone contempt for the body, because the healthy body of each individual, as a link in the eternal chain of generations, is the prerequisite for the survival of our people.

II.

The Führer himself (*Mein Kampf*, pg. 452) clearly outlined the guidelines for physical education in the new state:

> *"The national state must not focus its entire educational effort primarily on the cramming of mere knowledge, but rather on the cultivation of robustly healthy bodies."*

It is Major Surén's[19] great achievement—the full significance of which cannot yet be fully appreciated today—to have been the first to recognize the interrelationships between physical culture and racial health, thereby creating the conditions for overcoming the alienation from nature that threatens the survival of our people, indeed of the entire Nordic race.
In his famous book "Mensch und Sonne" (*Man and the Sun*), the former director of the Leer School for Physical Education and current special representative for physical education at the Reich Nutrition Board has demonstrated the intimate connection between free physical culture and the future destiny of the German people, and has shown in particular that all our efforts to revive a heroic ideal of life are bound to fail unless we first reevaluate and rebuild our entire moral outlook in accordance with the Aryan sense of the body: this requires, first and foremost, that we recognize the harmonious development of all physical attributes as the natural foundation not only of physical performance but of the entire personality, and that the notorious city dweller of yesteryear, with all his failings and inhibitions, is nothing more than the result of centuries of alienation from nature, which has made it impossible for him to properly assess the true blessings of life and their hierarchy of values.
That the German people are in dire need of this turnaround—indeed, that it is, so to speak, the eleventh hour for such a turnaround—is proven most clearly by the statistics, from which we must draw the shocking conclusion that 75 percent of those conscripted into labor service have inadequate overall physical posture, and that among the rural population, the percentage of those with poor physical

[19] Hans Surén, German officer, Head Inspector for Physical Education of the Reichsarbeitsdienst (RAD), and leader of the Army School for Physical Education. - The Translator

constitution rises to as high as 90 percent - incidentally, the situation is no better among those in physically demanding occupations, for it is precisely among them that up to 100 percent of physical development is one-sided and, accordingly, unbalanced.
If, therefore, we regard the Führer's call to "cultivate robustly healthy bodies" as the foundation of all education, it is by no means sufficient to raise the fit portion of the existing human population to a physically functional level through athletic training and group physical education; rather, the actual foundation of any such physical training must be the awakening of that typically Nordic sense of the body, which has always been one of the most essential fundamental characteristics of our race and has been preserved to this day in Scandinavia, where it was able to develop free from foreign influence.

The Free Physical Culture movement founded by Surén serves to awaken this sense of physical well-being, which lies dormant in the genetic heritage of the morally sound segment of our people: its enormous value for the recovery of our people has been repeatedly recognized by all authoritative bodies. If we nevertheless deem it necessary to take a firm stand here in support of the theories put forward by Surén—and in particular the practical measures he recommended—it is because those hypocrites and moralists, whom we have just sufficiently characterized, have repeatedly denigrated this great moral work, for they have no qualms about giving free rein to their filthy imaginations—simply because their outdated mindset regards nudity, which is a self-evident prerequisite for any form of physical culture, as "indecent" or even "immoral."
In contrast, it must be stated: the naked body as such can never, under any circumstances, appear immoral, unless the observer, due to a distorted sensibility, projects indecent thoughts onto it.

III.

In stark contrast to outdated, antiquated views—the complete eradication of which is one of the most important tasks of the new state—we take the position that healthy physicality, as the foundation of our people's life, can only be achieved through the purposeful cultivation of a sense of physical harmony and beauty - but who would be so presumptuous as to pass judgment on things of the visible world—and human bodies are, after all, first and foremost among these—that elude the critical eye and thus any judgment at all?
SS-Obergruppenführer Reich Minister Darré stated the following in his fundamental reflections on this subject:

"Since one learns to assess a body only through instruction and continuous practice with living individuals over the course of time, the Nordic race fundamentally ensured that people could come to know one another as God had created them: this applied not only to the interaction between members of the same sex, but also concerned the training of judgment in understanding the opposite sex..."

The traditions of Sparta provide the clearest evidence of the deliberate education aimed at assessing the human body among the Nordic race.
Lycurgus's legislation also explicitly states as its rationale that youth should be educated to learn how to assess the human body from a eugenic standpoint - Plutarch says the following about this:

"In order to eradicate all softness, pampering, and feminine weakness, he accustomed both girls and boys to attending solemn processions naked, and thus to dancing and singing at certain festivals in the presence and before the eyes of the young men.
At such times, they would punish one another with apt taunts for mistakes committed; at other times, they would also sing songs of praise for those who deserved it, thereby inspiring a desire for honor and noble rivalry among the young men: whoever was loved for his good conduct and enjoyed the respect of the maidens would walk proudly after the festival in recognition of this honor.
Incidentally, this undressing of the maidens in no way violated propriety, since modesty always prevailed and all lust was banished; rather, it became an innocent custom, fostered a kind of emulation regarding physical fitness, and instilled noble, exalted sentiments in the female sex as well, since it could lay claim to bravery and a thirst for glory just as much as the male sex."

We have quoted this important statement at such length because it recognizes the true secret of all physical culture for what it is from a political perspective: racial selection for the sake of the nation's future.
Let no one object that such an attitude, as exemplified here by the ancient philosopher, would be out of the question for us modern people - on the contrary, for us city dwellers, temporary yet principled nudity signifies, on the one hand, a deliberate departure from the mind–soul dualism—and thus a conscious rejection of the intellectual forces of the Middle Ages that were harmful to the people—and, on the other hand, a testament to the victorious breakthrough of the racial ideal that once again saves our people from the brink of annihilation.
Here, too, the innate consciousness of our race plays the decisive role: we want a healthy life in this world, and therefore affirm the body.

However, we must be clear that none of these lofty goals can ever, under any circumstances, be achieved through the kind of secret society activity that previously characterized naturism, nor does our national naturism have the slightest connection to the nude bathing clubs that were exploited for partisan purposes by the Social Democrats and Communists at the time: because we know what we want, and because we live in the 20th century, we have nothing in common with photos taken in garden gazebos or sentimental snapshots by forest streams and on the heath—and whatever other such tastelessnesses there may be.
It is Major Surén's great achievement that, with his courageous book, he has removed naturism from that dangerous sphere that rambled on about sun and health, thereby turning a good cause into a romantic pastime for decadent little gnomes - in contrast to this—and in this we are in complete agreement with Surén and his work—we seek a strong and joyful affirmation of bodily awareness, because we need this to build a strong and self-confident race, for only in this way will future generations, even in their outward appearance, meet those high standards that today—as in the time of the Greeks—constitute the self-evident prerequisite for any true achievement.

Women Are Not Men

I.

Developments in recent years have brought with them a strong emphasis on the masculine element, for the type of person who had carried the movement through the years of struggle—that is, a more steadfast, simple, straightforward, and idealistic sort of person—rejected the overly refined and decadent image of women that was held up as the ideal in the postwar years.
The new Germany needs healthy, strong, and above all feminine girls—and there are probably plenty of them in Germany!

Now, that would actually have been fine, but just as in politics, the fundamental shift in attitudes kept the romantics awake at night: reality was by no means enough for them, and depending on their desires and personal inclinations—but above all, depending on their personal development—each one formed his own ideal type, which he declared to be a guiding principle for others as well.
The "Rauschebärte,"[20] in particular, suddenly knew exactly what the "German" woman was supposed to look like, and in reactionary circles, efforts were made to once again proclaim the old, half-faded, sky-blue "Gretchen" ideal with its saccharine[21] docility.
Others, on the other hand, raved in the strongest terms about a kind of "man-woman" who was supposed to represent her husband in every conceivable role and, ideally, even be trained as a full-fledged soldier: Germanic scholars had nothing more urgent to do than to cast the old Nordic female archetype of the Viking Age in the right light, though they forgot that we live a thousand years later than those magnificent, heroic women of the Nordic large-scale farmers.

To get this out of the way right away: we do not wish to speak here of an "ideal type", and if we are idealists, we are so only in those areas where idealism belongs—namely, wherever faith is the foundation of personal conviction - thus, first and foremost in politics, and secondarily in religion.
We also do not wish to believe in our women in the sense of a state of mind that cannot be controlled by reason, for love is, after all, something tangible and earthly—indeed, the very highest form of worldly fulfillment in life.
Here, neither pale ideals, nor even the most vivid idols of a "type" are of any help to us: neither movie stars with doll-like faces, nor otherwise normalized and standardized ideal women à la "Miss Germany" have anything left to say to us, for we want reality, and nothing else.
Above all: to each his own! — which in this case means that there's no accounting for taste: of course, we're not advocating for "individualistic freedom" to indulge in tastelessness in this context, but National Socialism's healthy biological outlook sets the necessary boundaries here from the outset.

There is, for example, no question of a revival of the Gretchen braid with mandatory enforcement in all German districts, and all the nonsense of the uproar against the "bob cut" should be denounced right here for what it really was: a long-overdue outburst of complexes on the part of senile purists!
It goes without saying that today's athletic young women have no desire to wear the magnificent hairstyles of yesteryear, and it is equally self-evident that other women take pleasure in carefully tending

[20] German for "bushy beards", colloquialism for old-fashioned types. - The Translator
[21] Excessively sentimental. - The Translator

to and displaying their perhaps exquisitely beautiful hair: everyone is free to do as they please, and he—or rather, she—will be no more or less "German" for it.

Long women's hair is undoubtedly a beautiful thing, just as is a man's beard flowing down to his chest - but why is this immensely dignified adornment so rarely worn in our time? Evidently, because we want honesty, without pomp or veiling embellishments.
The spirit of our time calls for clean, decisive lines without too many embellishments: we want a genuine, clear face—hence the strong and justified aversion of so many young men to the sentimental, wavy poetry atop their heads (which, conversely, casts a rather revealing light on those who hold the opposing view.)
So, depending on taste, let older gentlemen or young dreamers cling to the occasional topknot or Lorelei-style costumes—slightly museum-like—for as long as they wish, since none of that is any of our business, as long as it remains a private matter: however, one should not presume to present such eccentricities with the air of conviction as the only possible path to saving Germany, and neither the long nor the short skirt, neither the sweatpants nor the swimsuit, is a suitable object upon which to "climb one's way up morally."

What applies to outward appearance also applies to the delicate inner life: we are people of a new era, and our feelings look different from those of our grandfathers.
In matters of love, honesty is even more important than anywhere else - and we are certainly not prudish at all!
But before we address this core question of the entire problem of the "German woman," we must first clarify what we are actually aiming to achieve with all these discussions of "non-bourgeois" topics, for when the narrow-minded bourgeois reads the word "sex," he may pretend to be indignant, but will then throw himself fervently into the interesting reading, quietly hoping to find filth in the style of Magnus Hirschfeld: he certainly won't get his money's worth from us, though.
We want decency even in this area, which is in urgent need of cleansing - that said, it is not our task here to pillory any exaggerations or sophisticated methods of decadent eroticism, for our aim is rather to do away with all manner of "fanciful delusions" and to make it clear to the people that the new state needs, first and foremost, healthy and honest views—not eccentric, fixed ideas.
We want beautiful, healthy, and natural girls and women, but not those who are mentally and emotionally "uniformed"—that is, stunted individuals molded into a single "mold."

II.

The education of male youth in the new Reich aims at a fundamental mental attitude with a particularly strong masculine emphasis: camaraderie and discipline are to be the foundations of future state life, and for this reason alone, the systematic structure of the state educational system—comprising the Jungvolk, the Hitler Youth, the Reich Labor Service, and the Wehrmacht—necessitates an almost complete separation of boys from girls.
However, since the character traits that will determine one's entire later life—in particular, the foundations of one's worldview, personal taste, and personal judgment—take shape during the formative years, there is a real danger that youth raised in such a masculine manner will develop a completely erroneous attitude toward the female sex: the boyish arrogance of puberty, which so easily manifests itself

later as bravado, must not, of course, be artificially prolonged into young adulthood, and for this reason alone, it is necessary that adolescent girls be raised not in a hostile relationship with young men, but in a polar contrast to them—that is, not as a contrast that repels, but as one that attracts, for only in this way will Germany's future male youth be spared the otherwise inevitable evil of underestimating the entire world of women—and thus women themselves—as has so often been the case in the emphatically masculine eras of world history - thus, a girl's upbringing must not only be emphatically feminine, but must consciously reject any masculine trait.

As is well known, the basic organizations of both the Hitler Youth and the BDM were developed from those of the youth movement, but they stand in clear contrast to the false and perverse tendency, particularly of the Wandervogel, which always believed that one was doing female youth a service by treating them exactly the same as boys: this is how, back then, those hideously haggard, filth-stained, long-braided monsters came into being—marching in battalions and imagining themselves well on their way to becoming "German" women.

It was not for nothing that this type of German girl was a convenient object of ridicule for all other nations: this militarized, sometimes even uniformed woman, this "marcher," is in fact the exact opposite of what we need today and in the future - we'll pass on this hypocritical and affected masculinity, for we ourselves are masculine!

We'll also pass on such "muse-like" women singing soldiers' songs or parading noisily through the streets, for all such posturing is not only unfeminine, but is, above all, tasteless.

To be the companion of a real man, a young woman needs, first and foremost, grace and taste: that alone would say everything there is to say about a program for female education, for grace and taste automatically rule out any adverse effects of false educational methods.

The more feminine a growing girl already is, the less she will want to know about the things that, as she has correctly recognized, will constitute the typically masculine world of experience of her future life partner: she will be aware that there are very large areas of life that are beyond her influence, and that striving desperately to penetrate them would contradict her feminine calling.

In contrast to the past, therefore, the main focus of future female education must be on providing a truly well-founded education, for herein lies the greatest and most decisive significance of women as the future center of their domestic activities, particularly in the upbringing of children: a woman's greatest task will always and forever remain her role as a mother, and it is to her that the nation owes its gratitude when future generations step out into the struggle of life as more complete and well-rounded human beings.

III.

We regard the state as the perfect community of the entire people, and given this fundamental stance toward social problems, it goes without saying that the entire education of women must be geared toward the ultimate goal of raising young girls to be perfect citizens - this is not to say, however, that young women should be politicized, for such an endeavor would mean remaining stuck in the infant stage—namely, transferring maxims from a time of struggle into the realm of permanence, thus elevating a transient, transitional value to universal validity.

Admittedly, in our tentative attempts to find a new form for these new ideas, we are for the time being groping in the dark, for unfortunately there are no parallels in our own people's past to such a civic mindset, since it is fundamentally alien to our nature.
While this lofty conception of the purpose of the state has often been intuited by the peoples of the Nordic race, it has never been put into practice: our gaze therefore turns involuntarily to China, where, more than three thousand years ago, this very same conception of the state took shape and received its classical formulation through Confucius.
It is of extraordinary interest to us to determine what the Chinese spirit perceived as the foundation of its ideal of womanhood in the context of the concept of the state since, reflecting the Chinese people's immense love of order, the four fundamental virtues are arranged according to their order of importance and classified in detail: as virtues of the soul, modesty is required first and foremost, followed by cheerfulness and chastity, as well as steadfastness, a sense of order, and perfection in decorum.
Among the virtues of the mind, the refined mastery of language—and thus of culture as a whole—takes first place; next comes moderation in speech and behavior, and finally the wry precept that a woman should always know when to speak and when to remain silent; the third category, finally, consists of the "virtues of outward appearance", and here, perfection of taste takes first place, which, according to the Chinese, means more than beauty does here; this is followed by the utmost cleanliness and, third, perfect mastery of manners.
The great Chinese scholar groups the virtues of daily life into a fourth category, placing at the top of this list diligent attention to household affairs, while expressly noting that a woman must never waste time; this is followed by concern for food, especially when guests are in the house.
All these duties in China are subject to an inescapable obligation: the unmarried girl lives only for her father, the married woman only for her husband, and the widow only for her children; the meaning of life for a woman in China is therefore never to live for herself or for society, but, as a contemporary Chinese philosopher puts it, to be nothing other than a good daughter, a good mother, and a good wife.

These educational maxims, which seem so out of step with our times today, are the product of a truly masculine worldview, and were created when the Chinese people set out to unify half the world and bestow their culture upon it, thereby accomplishing the greatest and most humane feat ever achieved by a nation.
Although nearly three thousand years have passed since then, Chinese culture will continue to flourish in the same way for millennia to come, thanks solely to its sense of national identity—which, in turn, rests very much on the position of women as the ideal companions of men, a position deeply rooted in that culture: we must keep this in mind if we are to attempt to establish an enduring Reich.

What Is Morality?

All of us who witnessed the dawn of a new era believed that, in the bright light of our life-affirming present, the eerie, shadowy specter of those dark-minded people—who always squint their eyes because they never want to see things as they really are— who are always raving about the "good old days" and who, as the highest of all moral commandments, demand that things return as quickly as possible to the way they were the day before yesterday, would disappear.
But this joyful confidence in the future sadly came to nothing: the die-hards are not going away, and are constantly grumbling in our ears about how depraved our times are and how morality is under threat, especially in the sexual sphere.

What, then, was the most characteristic sign of the new era? Decency and honesty of conviction, sincerity at any cost, and a love of truth grounded in reality: this is something all those who, based on the antiquated standards of outdated worldviews, now seek to "improve" the manifestations of the present should take to heart, in contrast to us, who see the world as it really is and, in our moral assessment of all phenomena of private experience, focus first and foremost on whether they are underpinned by an honest and decent disposition.
This applies first and foremost to all matters of a sexual nature: we do not even consider making demands that cannot be met, even if this might be highly desirable in the light of certain political expediency considerations - thus, moral standards must be compatible with the current sensibilities of the German people, as expressed by actual reality.
It certainly sounds very nice when Tacitus writes that Germanic youths and maidens abstained from sexual intercourse until the age of twenty, and, God knows, it would be very beneficial to public health if that were still the case today, but the irrefutable fact cannot be denied that these things have changed greatly over the last 2,000 years: modern life matures people more quickly and also places different demands on the psychological experience of each individual.
Young men and women who enter the workforce at sixteen or seventeen—and who are therefore expected to take on responsibility in every respect—cannot be subjected to unreasonable restrictions in an area that is, in fact, the very foundation of character development and personality; it makes absolutely no sense to bury one's head in the sand here and establish moral standards that could never be upheld, because the moral laws of reality would contradict them.

We therefore demand honesty and truthfulness at all costs in this most important area of organic life, and we do not believe for a moment that such a demand will in any way encourage "promiscuity", for promiscuity is human behavior that lacks discipline—and is thus, above all, devoid of any sense of responsibility.
In our view, it is by no means immoral for a young man and a young woman who have come to know and love one another to commit to a relationship that is vital to them and, if based on genuine affection, may well be the highest fulfillment of their existence; on the other hand, we consider it highly immoral when a young man abuses a young woman's trust—and especially her sexual submission—by ruining her emotionally and physically through continuing a relationship entered into as a precursor to marriage even after it has become untenable.
Or, to take another example: while we do not consider it desirable for people who are too young to enter into sexual relationships with one another, because this renders many immature and unprepared

individuals unfit for marriage, we recognize that sexual relationships among young people cannot be regulated by bans of any kind, since any attempt to fight against them would be a ridiculous quixotic endeavor.
We consider it pointless to swim against the tide of the times, especially since it is still better for sexuality not to shy away from the light of day; moral prejudices only drive these basic human needs into the uncontrollable darkness of a back-stairs romance that is, moreover, all too tempting.
Above all, honest sexual behavior between the two sexes is infinitely important for the simple reason that, otherwise, the young man is driven into the arms of prostitution—and that, after all, is the very thing we least desire.

This is not to say, however, that we advocate any form of free love, as we believe that all relationships between the male and female sexes must culminate in marriage, because marriage is the foundation of the clan and, therefore, of the state as well - in this respect, any other sexual relationship between a man and a woman is less valuable from a political standpoint, if only because of the social status of the children born of such a free union.
However, it would be turning the whole problem on its head if, like the old-fashioned puritans of yesteryear, we were to demand that our young people remain sexually chaste until marriage: this is simply not feasible, because current social conditions have unfortunately pushed the age of marriage up to over 25 years - if, therefore, one were to counter the proliferation of casual sexual relationships with any prospect of success, one would first have to create the economic conditions that would allow marriages to be contracted at the age when sexual experience is at its peak and, moreover, a woman's fertility is at its highest: one would therefore have to give men the opportunity to marry between the ages of 23 and 25, and women between 18 and 22 at the latest.
That, however, cannot happen overnight, and until this restructuring—which is so extraordinarily important for our people—is implemented, the situation will necessarily remain such that young people of the specified ages, and in most cases (namely over 80 percent), will enter into more or less short-term relationships beforehand, which lead to later marriages in only a fraction of all cases: this is sad, but it cannot be changed.

Here we are considering the entire problem primarily from the woman's perspective, for it is decisive for the girl's entire future life into whose hands she first falls because the first sexual experience determines the amplitude of all emotional fluctuations, and for this reason it is infinitely important that adolescents learn in good time to recognize the advantages of a decent mindset and, above all, of boundless honesty in this area - nothing is as detrimental as a hypocritical displacement of the entire sexual experience into the psychological realm, because inhibitions and complexes then prevent the healthy expression of life's emotions.
The worst distortion of the erotic experience is the one that is repeatedly propagated today by the senile educators of the old school, following a tried-and-true model, as they demand that boys, even in their youth, respect the girls of the same age they admire as fully-formed women—and possibly even as their future mothers: this means forcing the distinctly different, multi-layered, and extraordinarily important eroticism of childhood onto speculative wrong paths, for this results in something like that infamous

"courtly love," whose popularity among older people is evidenced by the great success of the book *Franziska von Altenhausen*.[22]
The present generation, eager for action and responsibility, wants to experience love as reality, and not as the pale shadow of a longing-driven, uptight state of mind: healthy instincts and their joyful fulfillment are infinitely more important for the young, developing human being than the complicated emotional refinements that arise from the decadent game of self-denial—a game that, for conventional reasons, gives rise to a complex system of surrogates.
Such a shift toward the purely psychological causes precisely that part of the sexual experience to wither away which must form the most important foundation of marriage: the tenderness of the physical experience of love, which is degraded to the merely animal by the overemphasis on the psychological.

That is precisely what we are opposing in the first place: for centuries, the medieval ecclesiastical morality of Catholicism declared the "body" to be sinful and regarded sexual intercourse, in particular, as impure; the aftereffects of these ideas, which originated in the East, are still felt today, for there are still many Germans who view the expression of the sexual instinct as a kind of defilement, and have no sense that the voice of nature within us is among the holiest things we possess: in conscious opposition to Catholic morality, we take the position that there is no separation whatsoever between body and soul.
We believe that the lofty demand once made by Nietzsche, that "a time will come when the spirit will be as at home in the senses as the senses are in the spirit", will soon be fulfilled; we want nothing to do with the defamation of instinctual life, and Zarathustra's words, "Have I commanded you to kill your senses? I say to you: ennoble your senses!" also applies to us.
We want young people to recognize, through joyful and responsible experience, the perfect unity of the spiritual and the physical, for only in this way can there be full humanity and true joy in life.

[22] A fictionalized book of letters written by Johannes Werner in 1927, which depicts the courtly love of an aristocratic woman in 19th century Germany. - The Translator

The Illegitimate Child

I.

One of the most difficult questions—one that people usually dare not broach in public debate, even though it is among the most important—is undoubtedly the status of children born out of wedlock in German society.
However, it need not be so difficult to resolve if one is clear about the ultimate goal and the fundamental stance: we certainly do not need to seek new approaches, but can confidently formulate the task as Dr. Hans Doerner states in his recently published work "Das Recht der unehelichen Kinder" (*The Rights of Children Born Out of Wedlock*):

"The expansion of the legal status of the illegitimate child must find its limits where it begins to endanger marriage."

This establishes a clear boundary that prevents the issue, through excessive idealism, from ending up on a level that bears too great a resemblance to "free love," of which National Socialism is, as is well known, the most vehement opponent.
On the other hand, we must not turn a blind eye to the injustice inherent in the fact that children born out of wedlock—who, God knows, cannot be held responsible for their own existence—are disadvantaged from the outset and, under certain circumstances, regarded as second-class citizens.

Certain circles are still all too eager to view children born out of wedlock as a "misstep": it should be clear, however, that we cannot subscribe to such a view, and above all, it is the clerics who cannot get enough of trumpeting moralistic judgments about the "fallen" to the world with the air of the holiest conviction.
This is, of course, connected to the otherworldly doctrines of these circles, which fundamentally view the body as something sinful - experience, however, shows time and again—especially in Catholic regions—just how much local customs and traditions contradict such a narrow-minded view.

Even the farmer is generally not thrilled when his unmarried daughter announces the arrival of a new life, which the family naturally regards as a surprise, yet in rural areas, out of a healthy sense of propriety, people tend in the vast majority of cases to come to terms with this fact much more quickly and naturally than, for example, in the city: in various valleys of Tyrol, this even goes so far that girls who have no children out of wedlock find it difficult to find a suitor, because childlessness is instinctively suspected to indicate a woman's promiscuity.
Things are far more complicated in the city: we do not wish to go into the various individual cases here in which inferior mothers—often addicted to alcohol—prostitutes, nymphomaniacs, etc., are impregnated by men, whose offspring in institutions for the mentally retarded bear witness to the necessity of purposeful eugenics, for the danger to the general welfare of the people must be considered far greater when it comes to offspring from such legitimate unions: it would never occur to anyone to place these sad outcomes of such marriages on the same level as genetically sound, yet illegitimate, children.
Similarly, one cannot categorically label a child born out of wedlock as racially inferior merely because of a possible moral defect in his father, since it has been statistically proven that such fathers, in most cases,

do eventually marry and have legitimate children, yet no one gives a second thought to these later half- or full-siblings of the illegitimate child, even though they too have surely inherited some genetic deficiency in one way or another.
Viewed from these perspectives, the inevitable conclusion is that children born of a legally valid marriage cannot simply be placed above illegitimate children in the genetic-biological sense.

However, it is not only the illegitimate child who is looked down upon by certain social classes, for above all, it is the illegitimate mother whom the narrow-minded average person turns up their nose at - now, however, anyone can tell themselves that it is precisely those women who make a profession of extramarital relations, and those others in similar circumstances, who almost never conceive because they possess the necessary experience and techniques to prevent it; these types of women, in all their variations, therefore have no greater claim to higher esteem for not having a child than a young girl who, perhaps in the genuine passion of first love and infatuation and in ignorance of the "various methods," gives birth to a child.
Nowhere is the problem of the illegitimate child more glaringly apparent than in the big city, where hundreds of thousands of people live crammed together in a small space - here, the issue of children born out of wedlock is, first and foremost, a social issue.
As recent history teaches us, no political system has been able to solve this social problem, and so it falls to National Socialism to grant the illegitimate child the status within the national community to which he or she is entitled, without devaluing marriage.

None of the social reforms to date have been able to unite the "classes" into a single community; on the contrary, the socialists and democrats prior to 1933 thrived on exacerbating the divisions between the various social strata: the term "the declassed", for example, which also included children born out of wedlock, dates back to this period.
In our national community, this untenable state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue, for above all else stands the continued existence of the people into the future—an existence that, despite rising birth rates, is still not sufficiently guaranteed today for us to be able to do without children born out of wedlock as the next generation.
This is not to advocate extramarital relations and their consequences, but it is certain that raising the social status of children born out of wedlock represents a tremendous step toward curbing the various violations of the abortion law—violations to which the German people owe no small loss of births and numerous women's diseases.

An objection often raised against children born out of wedlock is that they play a significant role in police statistics: this is likely due, in most—if not almost all—cases, to the fact that many unwed mothers are employed and, for financial and personal reasons, cannot devote the necessary care to raising their children.
In such cases, neither the woman's parents nor the man's can replace the missing "parental home": even if the child is raised by grandparents with the utmost care, in ninety out of a hundred cases the child is spoiled and pampered, so that eventually the child always sees his own mother as a woman who, for educational reasons, does not give in to him and is therefore "strict"; the same objection can, of course, be justifiably raised in the case of the mother's absence from the child's upbringing.

This brings us not to the most delicate, but to the most realistic aspect of the problem: how can we ensure the child receives a careful upbringing? This is, first and foremost, a question of sustenance, for it is not only a matter of course, but also the father's moral duty to provide for his child, even if he does not marry the child's mother.
Today, we cannot emphasize strongly enough the need to legally protect the mother of a child born out of wedlock in every respect and to ensure her financial security.

However one views the matter, we have no moral right to deny respect to the child born out of wedlock or to its mother, nor to assign them a secondary role in the national community: the primary goal of our efforts must be to make marriage as feasible as possible in such cases through financial support.
A second way to raise the child born out of wedlock as a full-fledged member of the national community is through adoption - however, this will only be an option in cases where the mother is willing to place her child in good hands because she herself realizes that it is impossible for her to raise the child on her own.

II.

The survival of a people—and thus the life and value of its culture—stands or falls with the genetic health of its offspring - however, it is not only the quality of these offspring that determines the continued existence of the nation, but their number is equally crucial.
World history offers countless examples showing how large and powerful nations lose their hard-won significance with unstoppable speed, simply because their offspring were insufficient to maintain their political sphere and, with it, to preserve their cultural heritage: just as the world power Spain lost its leading role a good two centuries ago and had to cede not only half the world it then possessed, but, above all, its intellectual supremacy to younger and more vigorous peoples, so too is France today doomed to lose its political standing unless it manages, at the eleventh hour and through its own efforts, to boost its population.
Germany, too, was a dying nation in this sense, but the drastic measures taken by the new state have already—during the short time of its existence—brought about such an increase in the birth surplus that, for the time being at least, a further decline in the population has been prevented.

Of course, the goal of any population policy must be to promote the nation's next generation as much as possible by favoring large families, for legitimate children are always the most valuable part of the next generation: not only is their physical and mental health most likely to be assured in accordance with the new laws of hereditary biology, but they are also far better off in terms of a proper upbringing than orphans or, indeed, children born out of wedlock.
Since not only the genetic makeup, but also the character-building upbringing within the family is of decisive importance to the state, the state is compelled to always give them preference over other categories, especially since the clan is intended to be the healthy foundation of the national body - therefore, every "family-less" child does not, at first, have the same value for the state as a legitimate child.
However, this politically necessary assessment should not lead to the discrimination of those illegitimate children who, in terms of hereditary biology and social status, are just as valuable as legitimate children, for such a group of completely equal members of the youngest generation does exist, and it is even

considerably larger than the group that must be regarded as hereditarily and socially inferior—and therefore dangerous to the national community.
Above all, however, for a very large proportion of children born out of wedlock, the decision as to whether they will be accepted as valuable members of the nation with completely equal rights depends very much on the stance of public opinion—and this is the reason why we consider it our duty to intervene here to provide clarification.

The question of the legal status of the illegitimate child is so sensitive that we must first get to the very bottom of it in order to even begin to grasp its implications - in doing so, we need not concern ourselves at all with the problem of moral judgment, precisely because such discussions, as is well known, neither change anything nor are they suited to helping clarify the issue: anyone who, like the hypocritical representatives of an artificially prolonged Middle Ages, would seek to view an unmarried mother as a "sinner", would make themselves just as ridiculous as someone who would want to punish the children of free love—who, after all, are in no way to blame—because of their parents' "misstep."
The problem lies quite elsewhere - first of all, a strict distinction must be made between three categories of children born out of wedlock, which must be treated very differently from the state's perspective:

The first category comprises the always highly undesirable offspring of morally inferior women: this includes not only the children of courtesans and disguised prostitutes—whose fathers, in most cases, can no longer be identified at all—but also the far greater number of children conceived by chance, whose mothers, due to their character traits, make it seem inevitable that their offspring should be denied full rights; this therefore also includes all those girls and women who, out of unbridled sexual impulsiveness or a thirst for pleasure, lead a sexual life that does not meet the sole valid standard for this matter: a sincere sense of responsibility.
In the difficult assessment of individual cases, only the deep insight of the public authorities entrusted with the investigations—above all, the social worker—can protect against erroneous judgments.
The question of whether a girl is morally deficient can never be decided according to a set formula, for there will be cases where, even after many—perhaps even rapidly changing—relationships, both the character and the emotional life of the person in question remain completely intact, and especially in people with a pronounced need for honesty and a spirited intensity of feeling, even very unusual sexual experiences can be far more moral than in others who, through casual indulgence, may have already sunk morally after just a single encounter.

The second group of children born out of wedlock includes those whose mothers, out of genuine love and often with full awareness of the possible consequences, have entered into a relationship best described as a "marriage of conscience": in many cases, it is merely the financial issue that prevents such a union from becoming a true marriage, though there are also sometimes social differences whose full implications could not be fully grasped by both partners during their shared youth, so that later, consideration for the beloved man and his social standing forces the former bride to renounce the marriage.
This group also includes the large number of children born of overly youthful romantic relationships, in which both partners—whether out of recklessness or simply a failure to grasp the implications of their actions—were unaware that they were not suited to one another - of course, it is still always better when such people, often after severe inner struggles, choose to part ways rather than enter into a marriage that can only lead to unhappiness.

The children in this second category belong, in the vast majority of cases, to the most genetically valuable segment of the population, for they are almost exclusively the offspring of parents who are in the years most favorable for both conception and childbirth - thus, as far as physical prerequisites are concerned, equal treatment with children born in wedlock must be demanded without exception.
Now, in each individual case, it will be necessary to examine whether the character traits of both parents—particularly with regard to their recklessness—might not diminish the otherwise valuable genetic stock.

There is still a third group in which the circumstances are not as straightforward as in the case mentioned last - here, the same may apply to the unmarried mother as we just assumed.
These will therefore be girls who are morally sound, and against whose lineage, character, and general conduct there is generally nothing to object to; nor should it matter to us whether the reason for their out-of-wedlock motherhood was an overly early separation from the family, an unfavorable environment, a need for support, or unscrupulous seduction, for it is not the mother alone who determines the social value of the children in this group, as the irresponsible men who exploited all these girls as “affairs”—by forcing a relationship upon them without regard for their true life prospects, a relationship that destroyed their entire lives—are to blame if we regard this group of children as inferior: after all, the offspring of fathers who are as dishonorable as they are morally unstable also carry this questionable genetic predisposition within them, quite apart from the fact that these typical “children of affairs” also experience a great deal of psychological tension and complexes due to the often irreconcilable contrast in the social backgrounds of both parents.

However, in doing so, we have so far considered only the question of lineage and genetic makeup - what weighs more heavily, however, is that an extraordinarily large number of illegitimate children—who, by right of inheritance, would be entitled to complete social equality with legitimate children—are nonetheless regarded as inferior because their character development does not meet the required standards; this applies without exception to the first group and to the vast majority of the third group.
We know that a person’s character is decisively shaped within the first five or six years of life, but we also know, however, that an upbringing provided solely by the mother will, only in the rarest of cases, result in a balanced worldview—and almost never in a masculine one.
Since, for ideological reasons, the latter is precisely the cornerstone of our entire approach to youth education (incidentally, during these years of life—and only during these years—for little girls as well), the many children born out of wedlock who are raised solely by their mothers are, so to speak, automatically excluded—unless, as in the case of war widows or women with a strong sense of tradition, a heightened sense of responsibility bridges these shortcomings.
Children of early divorces and half-orphans are to be placed on the same footing as children born out of wedlock in this regard, and it is an important task for the drafters of the emerging German law to eliminate the liberalist views of the legislation of the previous century, which ruined a great many genetically valuable children by entrusting their upbringing to the innocently divorced mother instead of to the father, who is in every case far more valuable as an educator: the old law conflated matters here that have nothing to do with one another, and in its effort to punish the guilty party, it struck not the guilty party, but the innocent child the hardest.

All these discussions would serve no purpose whatsoever if one could not also point to a positive way out of the dilemma.
We have seen that a very large group of illegitimate children—namely, the second group—can be regarded without any reservation as a valuable addition to the national community, provided that an impeccable moral upbringing guarantees the full and favorable development of their healthy hereditary traits; we have further seen that a large portion of the children in the third group are to be regarded as inferior solely because their upbringing by women alone ruins them.
This is where the state's welfare efforts must come into play: not in the form of any kind of communal upbringing, such as in foundling homes, orphanages, and similar institutions that destroy personality, but rather, through the arrangement of suitable placement in childless or families with few children, for it is an unparalleled stroke of good fortune that in Germany, in recent years, the number of offers to adopt children has risen steadily, so that, provided the numerous adoption agencies function properly, the vast majority of children born out of wedlock—insofar as they are eligible for adoption—can be placed in families: as a result, these children are placed on an entirely equal footing with those born in wedlock in terms of character development, for the adoptive parents' desire to take in a child from outside their family stems, almost without exception, from a particularly highly developed love for children, which in turn results in a greater aptitude for providing a high-quality upbringing.
The work of adoption agencies carries an extraordinary degree of responsibility, and those entrusted with establishing these mostly state-run institutions are well aware of this, for it is their duty, first and foremost, to carefully examine whether both the child in question and his or her future adoptive parents meet the requirements set by the state with regard to the expected course of the child's upbringing; in addition, they must also examine the child's hereditary health, particularly with regard to moral heredity, and ensure with meticulous care that the child to be adopted corresponds precisely to the prospective adoptive parents and their social standing in terms of intellectual and social heredity.
This applies in particular to those hereditary intellectual aptitudes that are a prerequisite for advancement into higher intellectual professions, so that, as in the past, the most serious harm to children born out of wedlock can be avoided in this area - until now, these valuable qualities have been lost due to completely unsuitable placement with foster parents who were unable to develop the intellectual abilities of the child entrusted to them.

This function is by far the most important one of adoption agencies, for it concerns the most valuable segment of children born out of wedlock: it is very interesting that the first annual report of the German Adoption Agency demonstrates that 40% of the arranged adoptions involve children of unmarried mothers who come from families in intellectual professions (doctors, professors, architects), while only 25% come from the lower civil service, white-collar workers, foremen, and farmers, and 35% from the working class - of course, this percentage applies only to arranged adoptions and not to out-of-wedlock births themselves, in which the latter group accounts for by far the largest share, but in both this group and the middle-class group, the percentage of children who can be raised by their out-of-wedlock mothers within their own families is relatively high.
When one considers that the number of out-of-wedlock births has risen from 8.6% in 1875 to over 13%—following an almost consistently upward trend—the entire issue takes on extraordinary political significance: it is of the utmost importance for the national community whether, of the more than 130,000 children whose development has been impaired annually by their previous lack of rights, a large proportion can in the future be made into full-fledged citizens by ensuring that they grow up within the

bosom of a real family, for only in this way can they acquire the character traits that are indispensable for equality with children born in wedlock.
In this manner, the increase—which is undesirable in itself—is made politically acceptable, though this is not to say that we now wish to welcome it particularly: these remarks are intended solely to take the facts into account, especially since, as already stated, the number of children born out of wedlock will not decrease simply by subjecting them to lesser rights.

III.

The foundation of the state is the genetically sound family - the Führer has characterized this fact with the words:

"The family forms the cell of the new national community; it must be made the most precious component of the new state."

This establishes the guidelines for the future legislation of the National Socialist state, and since we need a significant increase in the current birth rate to preserve our population, the economic conditions must be created to ensure that every healthy marriage produces at least four children: this is a difficult task, and it will take quite some time before the number of live births rises from 1,198,000 to the required minimum of 1,366,000.
For this reason alone, the new state—no matter how much it emphasizes the value of marriage—cannot afford to forgo even a single member of the people who meets the racial criteria for admission into the national community.
In the context of this problem, the question of how the state's support for the family—as just described—will ultimately play out is not at all pressing, since the immediate concern is how we intend to address today's circumstances, which, after all, are to a very significant extent rooted in the period before the upheaval and cannot, in this difficult area, be transformed into ideal conditions overnight.
The problem we have primarily in mind here is that of children born out of wedlock and before marriage: it requires no special justification to state that we are, of course, not referring to the mostly unwanted, unhealthy, and, moreover, socially inferior "accidental children" of wayward girls and morally unprincipled women, for, as already mentioned above, we want genetically healthy offspring for the people and the state, but not worthless multiple births, such as those brought into the world in great numbers by the notorious Marxist propaganda for "free love."

Let us first imagine that approximately 10% of all births in the Reich are out of wedlock: it is impossible to change this situation in a short time, and we are not blind to the fact that legislative measures can do little of substance in this regard; on the other hand, however, we also do not fail to recognize that the majority of out-of-wedlock births occur for the sole reason that two young people cannot marry for financial reasons.
No law will prevent young people from following their own paths in matters of love, and it would be downright ridiculous to adopt a head-in-the-sand policy and indiscriminately attach a moral stigma to all children born out of wedlock, as the prudish middle class of earlier times and the confessional moralists once deemed appropriate - on the contrary, it must be stated once and for all in no uncertain terms that the

German girl who finds the courage to become a mother even when the financial conditions for marriage are not—or not yet—met, is a thousand times more valuable to the national community than one of those powdered ladies who, in such cases, despite the severe penalties threatened by the law, repeatedly attempt to have the fruit of their "misstep" secretly disposed of.
However, we limit this clear statement in favor of such girls only to cases where there is a guarantee, based on blood ties and worldview, that the union from which the illegitimate child stems is valuable in and of itself: we are thinking here primarily of the disproportionately large number of premarital births among the rural and industrial populations since, in the former case, this very often stems from old customs, serving to demonstrate the fertility of the planned marriage, while in the latter case, children are usually born out of wedlock so that their parents can fight through all possible external difficulties to achieve their intended marriage.
In many such cases, both the unmarried father and the mother belong to the racially valuable segment of our people, and it would be irresponsible to continue exposing the children of such couples to the hitherto inevitable disadvantages and discrimination to which illegitimate children were subjected in earlier centuries—albeit only since the triumph of medieval ecclesiastical moral views: it should be remembered that our Germanic ancestors—and even the High Middle Ages—knew nothing of such contempt for children born out of wedlock, and we see both Icelandic large-scale farmers and German kings raising their "illegitimate" sons alongside their other children with equal love and respect, and that several of these "bastards"—as they were called in later times, albeit still respectfully—have rendered great service to the German people.

Merely recognizing this state of affairs is, of course, not enough, for we know that the future of our people depends on genetically sound offspring.
On December 13th, 1934, the Reichsführer-SS pointed out that we have all fought in vain if we do not add to our political victory the victory of births of good blood - in this context, he also stated that we must all work together in a spirit of comradeship to ensure that practical measures are taken to support mothers of high racial and hereditary value and to care for their children, and emphasized that "the reconstruction of Germany for centuries and millennia will be impossible unless each of us is prepared to continue fulfilling our self-evident duty": only personal sacrifices can help in such a case.
What good are the most beautiful, theoretical discussions if they are not followed by tangible and effective action? Incidentally, the existing organization—which allows every fellow citizen to participate in this vital social reconstruction effort—shows how to proceed in this particularly difficult case, as there are, in fact, already institutions that have made it their mission, on the one hand, to support large families of high hereditary and racial value, and, on the other hand, to help worthy expectant mothers by providing them with a dignified home for the "hour of need": there is surely no need to emphasize just how severely the mostly undignified conditions of accommodation for out-of-wedlock births have harmed both mother and child to date.

It is highly interesting to draw the attention of the broader public to what such a social development project must look like in practice among the people in order to successfully combat the existing emergencies.
First and foremost, maternity homes that are exemplary in every respect must be established, where expectant mothers can be accommodated for longer or shorter periods; it is desirable that admission take place as early as the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy, for social welfare must by no means limit itself

to care and medical supervision during childbirth, but rather, expectant mothers should be prepared in all areas for their future roles as wives and mothers - therefore, they must have the opportunity to improve their skills in home economics and nutrition, as well as to acquire sound knowledge in the areas of housing, small animal husbandry, and, above all, of course, infant care.
In addition, of course, every effort must be made to provide the expectant mother with every conceivable form of relief, and thanks to the organization that bears these costs, the expenses for the stay are exceptionally low: arrangements have been made to ensure that the person obligated to provide support can pay these expenses in a manner that is affordable for them.
Beyond the care directly related to the birth itself, continued support for both mother and child is provided, to the extent desired: married women may stay at the home for an extended period if space is available, and may also bring their children with them, while unmarried women are provided with a place where, if marriage is not or not yet possible for any reason, they do not have to be separated from their child; on the other hand, however, in cases where the child's future must be secured, a connection is established with childless married couples who, for their part, wish to adopt a genetically healthy child—for, as we emphasize once again, this always applies only to such children.
These homes and the organizations that support them are not merely a pipe dream, for they already exist, and it is to the credit of the Reichsführung SS[23] that it has taken the first active step here in building Germany's future - everyone, therefore, has the opportunity to actively contribute to promoting the process of racial rehabilitation of our people and thereby to serve this important aspect of our national ideal and, consequently, the entire people.
Because for us the concept of race is the foundation of the entire national structure, this first practical attempt to realize the idea of genetically healthy offspring appears particularly important - let us take to heart the memorable words of Reich Minister Göring:

"The idea is the passionate force that strengthens people; the material is merely the foundation for daily life."

Providing for the material so that the idea may grow and flourish is therefore a task that, in this case, concerns the entire nation.

[23] The main offices of the SS. - The Translator